

Studies by Guitty Azarpay

Guitty Azarpay, educator and renowned art historian, published these articles and books between the years 1959 and 2003.

[Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazyryk](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1959), pp. 313-339.

[A Herodotean Echo in Pompeian Art?](#) from *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Jan., 1961), pp. 31-35.

[Two Urartian Boot-Shaped Vessels](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 27, No. 1/2 (1964), pp. 61-71.

[Nine Inscribed Choresmian Bowls](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 31, No. 2/3 (1969), pp. 185-203.

[The Kushan Conference in Dushanbe](#), from *Archaeology*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (June 1970), pp. 254-257.

[The Allegory of Dēn in Persian Art](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1976), pp. 37-48.

[Nanâ, the Sumero-Akkadian Goddess of Transoxiana](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 96, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1976), pp. 536-542.

[The Eclipse Dragon on an Arabic Frontispiece-Miniature](#), by G. Azarpay, A. D. Kilmer, from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 98, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1978), pp. 363-374.

[Bishapur VI: An Artistic Record of an Armeno-Persian Alliance in the Fourth Century](#), from *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (1981 - 1982), pp. 171-189.

[The Development of the Arts in Transoxiana](#), by Guitty Azarpay, from *Cambridge History of Iran* (1983), Volume 3 (Part 2), Chapter 30, pp. 1130-1148.

[Proportional Guidelines in Ancient Near Eastern Art](#), by Guitty Azarpay, W. G. Lambert, W. Heimpel, Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, from *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (Jul., 1987), pp. 183-213.

[A Photogrammetric Study of Three Gudea Statues](#), from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 110, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1990), pp. 660-665.

[The Snake-Man in the Art of Bronze Age Bactria](#), from *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 5 (1991), pp. 1-10.

[A Jataka Tale on a Sasanian Silver Plate](#), from *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 9 (1995), pp. 99-125.

[The Sasanian Complex at Bandian: Palace or Dynastic Shrine](#), from *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 11 (1997), pp. 193-196.

[Analysis of Writing Materials in Middle Persian Documents](#), by Guitty Azarpay, J. G. Barabe, K. A. Martin, A. S. Teetsov, from *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 16 (2002), pp. 181-187.

[New Information on the Date and Function of the Berkeley MP Archive](#), by Guitty Azarpay, Kathleen Martin, Martin Schwartz, Dieter Weber, from *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, Vol. 17 (2003), pp. 17-29.

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[Articles](#) by Dr. Azarpay or referencing her work, at *Encyclopedia Iranica Online*.

The author's major books also are available at Internet Archive:

[Uartian Art and Artifacts](#), *A Chronological Study* (1968).

[Sogdian Painting](#), *The Pictorial Epic in Oriental Art* (1981).

Additional Resources:

[Studies of Urartu](#), multiple authors.

[Selected Topics in Ancient and Medieval Iranian History from Encyclopaedia Iranica Online](#), multiple authors.

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[Ancient Arts of Eastern and Southern Asia: Images and Texts](#), multiple authors.

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Some Classical and Near Eastern Motifs in the Art of Pazyryk

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SOME CLASSICAL AND NEAR EASTERN MOTIFS IN THE ART OF PAZYRYK *

As has long been recognized, the prevalence of animal motifs and their unique rendition in the Pazyryk kurgans are major aids in connecting the Pazyryk phase of the Altai culture with widely scattered Scythian tribes of the Eurasian steppes and south Russia of the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C. The relative chronology of the five large Pazyryk kurgans has now been determined on the basis of tree-ring counts which establish a range of forty-eight years between the construction of the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, and kurgan number 5 which was the last to be built¹. This is, however, a floating chronology as the chief authorities date the Pazyryk kurgans anywhere from the fifth to the third centuries B.C.² On the basis of evidence to be presented in this study, it is possible to determine a fixed date for the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, and therefore, numbers 3–5 respectively. This dating results from the comparison of Pazyryk motifs with those originating in the Classical and Near Eastern worlds, the principal sources of artistic inspiration in Pazyryk, which, however, had contact also with other distant centers of culture, even with China³.

Archaeological evidence confirms Herodotus' account of the trade between the Greek colonies of the northern shore of the Black Sea and Scythian tribes of Eurasia before the fifth century B.C.⁴; references in the voyage of Aristean indicate contact with such tribes at even an earlier time⁵. Objects found at Garchinovo, Kelermes and Vetersfelde confirm the pene-

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¹ The timber used in the five large Pazyryk kurgans was presumably brought from the same vicinity and underwent the same climatic vicissitudes. Counts taken of the tree rings in the five chambers show that kurgans numbers 1 and 2 are contemporary, and number 4 is seven years later. Number 5 is eleven years later than number 3, and forty-eight years later than numbers 1 and 2; I. M. Zamotorin, "Otnositel'naia khronologiya Pazyrykskikh kurganov", *Sovetskaya Arkheologia* I, 1959, pp. 21–30.

² S. I. Rudenko, "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of Northern Nomads," *Artibus Asiae* XXI, 2, 1958, p. 104, still dates the Pazyryk burials from the fifth century B.C.; M. Giaznov *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, Musée de l'Ermitage, Leningrad 1958, pp. 5, 15, prefers the fourth and third centuries B.C.; S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnaia istoriia iuzhnoi Sibiri*, Moskva 1951, p. 373, gives dates of the third century B. C. and later.

³ Chinese silk embroidery from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan, and a rug woven in the pile technique, probably from Achaemenid Persia: S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura naseleniia gornogo Altaia v skifskoe vremia*, Moskva/Leningrad 1953, henceforth *Kul'tura*, figs. 129–132, 85, pls. CXV–CXVI respectively; K. Jettmar, "The Altai before the Turks," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm 23, 1951, henceforth *BMFEA*, p. 205.

⁴ Herodotus IV, 1, 23 ff.

⁵ E. D. Phillips, "The Legend of Aristean: Facts and Fancy in Early Greek Notions of East Russia, Siberia and Inner Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, 1955, p. 161 ff.

tration of Greek influence in Scythian art as early as the sixth century B.C.⁶ Greek elements could, moreover, have reached the Altai by the south-eastern route from Persia, through Kazakhstan and the Oxus region before the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. The Oxus treasure demonstrates the existence of Classical influences in Central Asia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.⁷

Most Classical elements in Pazyryk are floral patterns, variations of the lotus-palmette, a traditional theme recognized and thoroughly exploited by the Greek artists. The *palmette-hook* motif, one variation of the Classical palmette, utilized in Greek art as early as the sixth century B.C.⁸, appears in a more elaborate form in the double back-to-back hooks with curled up ends topped with lotus or palmette leaves on the fourth century B.C. column base from the Didymaion at Miletus⁹ (Fig. 1). A south Russian parallel to the latter exists on a gold forehead plate of a horse from the tomb of Tsymbal near the village of Gr. Belosierka¹⁰ which Rostovtsev places in the fourth to the third centuries B.C.¹¹ In Achaemenian representations of this type of palmette, the tendrils or hooks below the leaves curl downward, a variation also seen in Greek art¹². Several wooden bridle ornaments from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹³ (Fig. 2) and a leather appliqué purse from kurgan number 2 (Fig. 3) show the palmette-hook motif as used in Greek art with tendrils turned up at the base. The essential parts of this motif may be seen in a more abstract version on a leather appliqué flask from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁴ (Fig. 4). Greek influence in the Pazyryk palmette and other motifs discussed below must always have been of an indirect sort with many local modifications, reinterpretations, and distortions. Comparisons of Pazyryk motifs with Greek prototypes are most often made on general grounds, based on stylistic features characteristic of Greek arts but absent in the Near East, and foreign to the local tradition of the Altai.

The *palmette-tendrill* motif, a palmette flanked by tendrils which grow up from the base of the design, is found on leather horse trappings from Pazyryk with cut out human faces in the centers and a fringe of tassels at the top (Fig. 5). In south Russia, Medusa heads are often given palmettes which grow from the mass of hair and coiling snakes on top of the head. A Medusa head of the fourth century B.C. from Elizavetinskaia in the Kuban shows the base and tendrils of a partially destroyed palmette on the head¹⁵. Medusa heads repeated on a phiale mesomphalos

⁶ E. H. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 28, London 1942, pls. II, XIV, A; M. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, pl. VI. All three examples are dated to the sixth century B.C. by K. Schefold, "Der skythische Tierstil in Südrussland," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* XII, 1938, pp. 8, 14.

⁷ O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, British Museum 1926, pl. II.

⁸ H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, figs. 61, 107, 109 B, 111, 112 A-B.

⁹ E. Pontremoli, B. Haussoulier, *Didymes, Fouilles de 1895 et 1896*, Paris 1904, p. 144.

¹⁰ N. Kondakov, J. Tolstoj, S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale*, Paris 1891, fig. 243.

¹¹ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 107.

¹² Examples from the Oxus treasure show the type generally encountered in Achaemenid art, Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XIII, 47 and the border motif on pl. XXII.

¹³ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXIV, 1.

¹⁴ This palmette is perhaps related to patterns on other personal articles from the same kurgan; *Kul'tura*, pls. XCIII, 3; XCIV, 1.

¹⁵ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 20, dates this tomb on the basis of datable Greek parallels. The fantastic female figure on the horse's frontlet from the tomb of Tsymbal shows a somewhat different treatment of the palmette on the head; see E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1913, fig. 54.



Fig. 1. Column base from the Didymaion, Miletus, 4th c. B.C.
Potremoli-Hausoullier, *Didymes*, p. 144

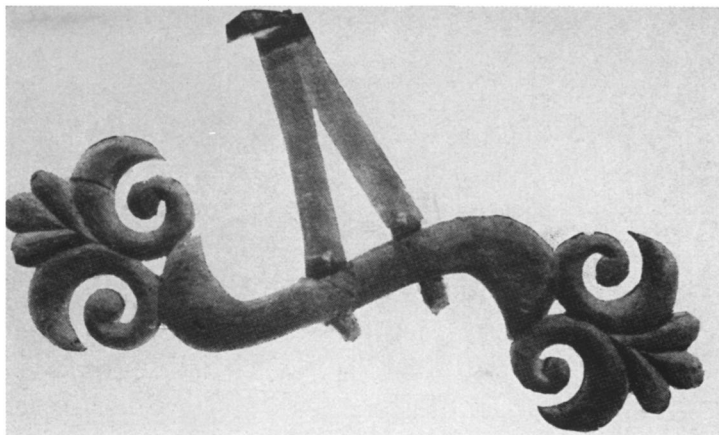


Fig. 2. Wooden bridle part from Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 108

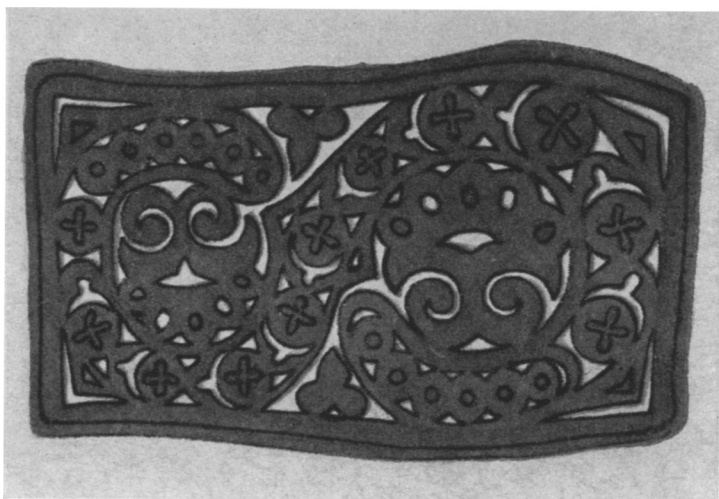


Fig. 3. Leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, pl. XCII, 1



Fig. 4. Leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov,
L'Art ancien de l'Altai, fig. 46



Fig. 5. Leather horse trapping,
Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXX, 6

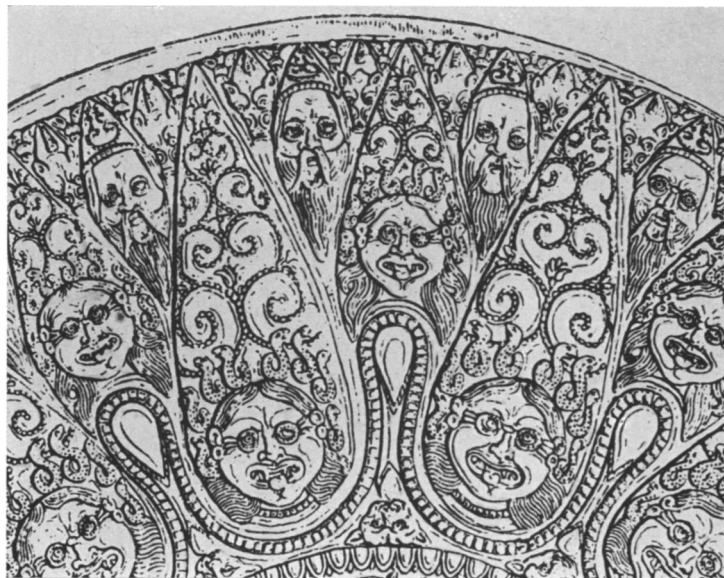


Fig. 6. Gold phiale mesomphalos, Kul Oba, second half of 4th c. B.C.
Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 99

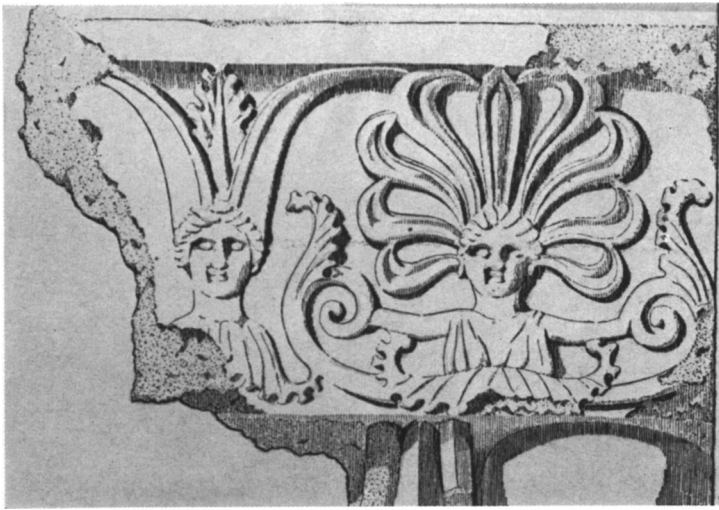


Fig. 7. Relief from the temple of Artemis, Sardis, 4th c. B. C. or later.
Butler, *Sardis II*, 1, ill. 89

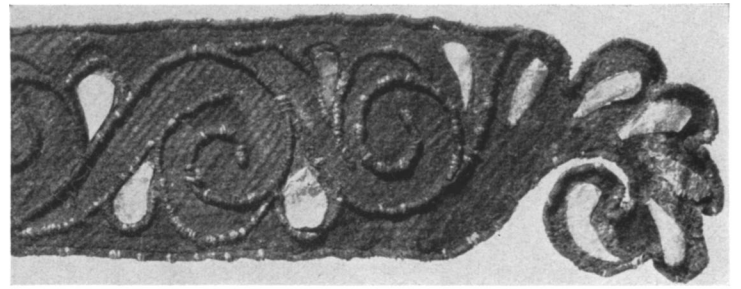


Fig. 8. Leather belt from Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L' Art ancien de l' Altai*,
fig. 40

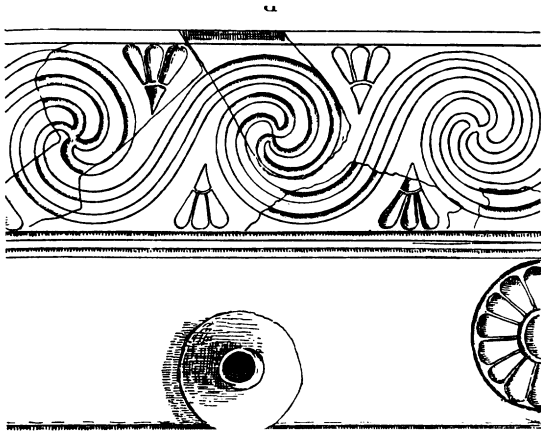


Fig. 9. Sima from Korfu, 6th c. B. C. Greek. Payne,
Necrocorinthia, fig. 108, B

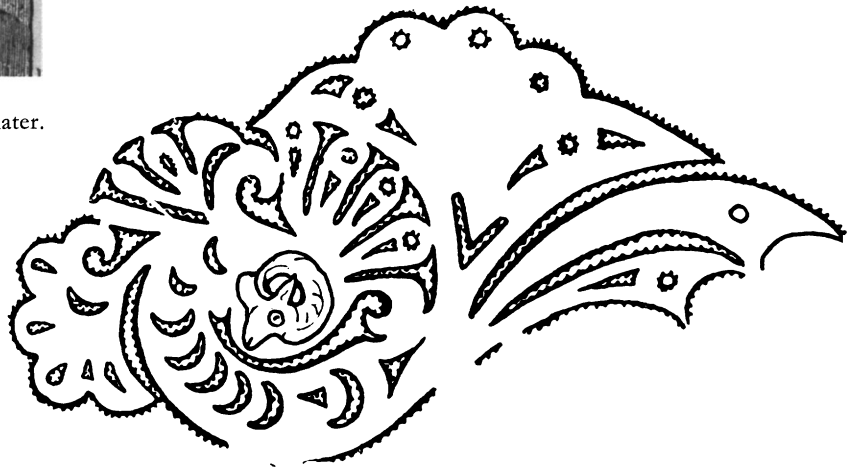


Fig. 10. Detail of leather appliqué, Pazyryk 2 *Kul'tura*, fig. 64



Fig. 11. Detail of gold quiver case, Chertomlyk, after 340 B. C.
Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 206

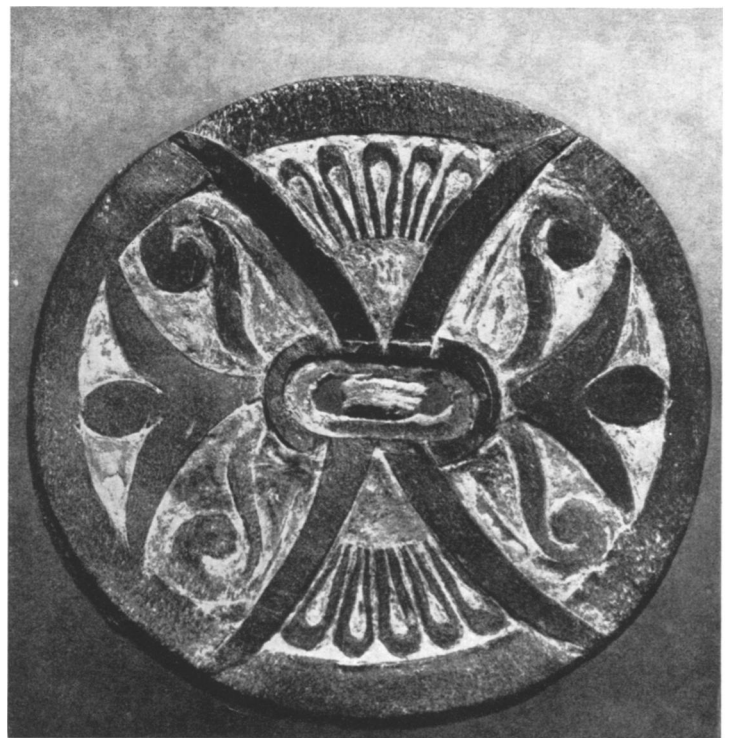


Fig. 12. Horn bridle ornament, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L' Art ancien de
l' Altai*, fig. 64

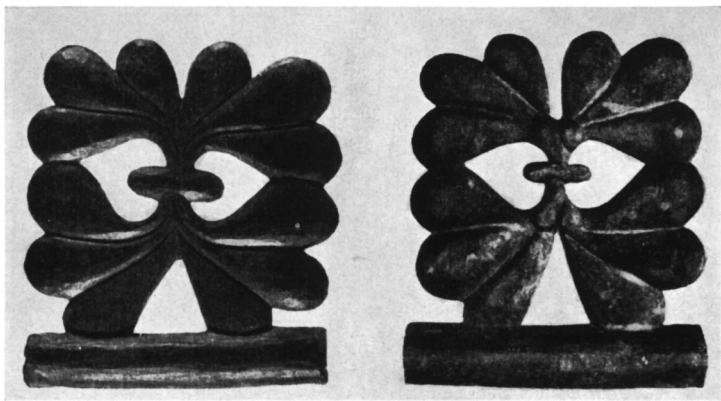


Fig. 13. Wooden bridle ornament, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXII, 2, 3

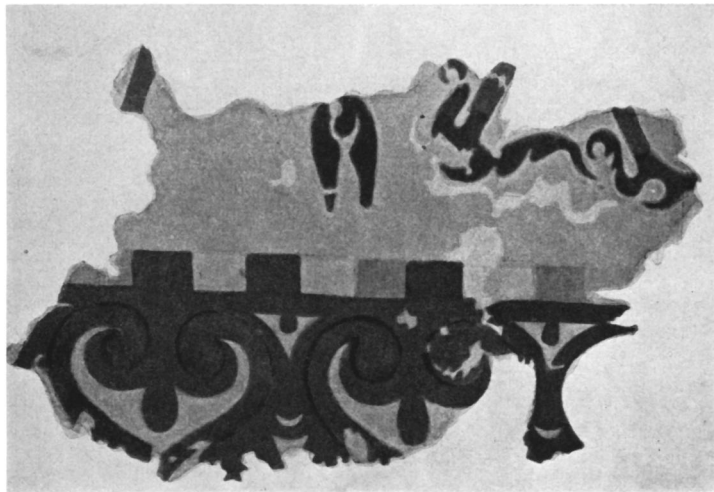


Fig. 15. Felt appliqué, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. XC, 2

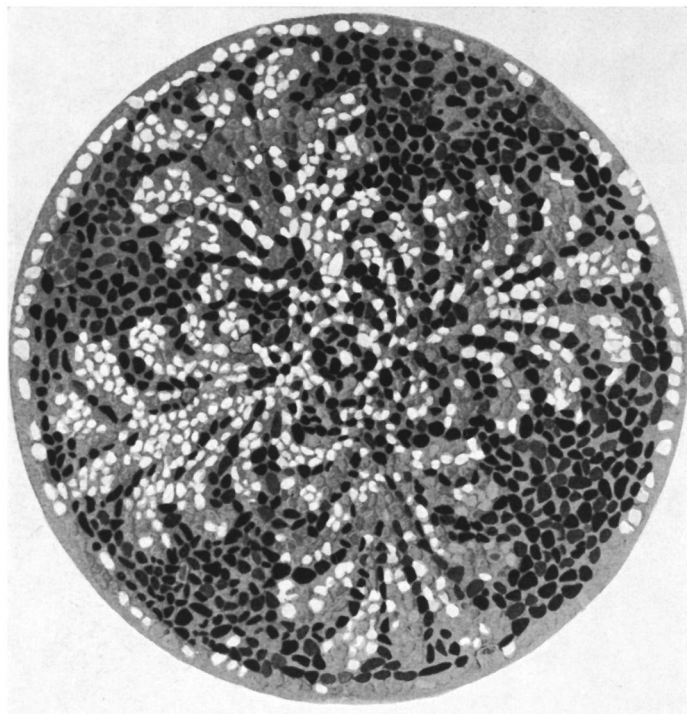


Fig. 14. Floor mosaic from Olynthos, probably 4th c. B.C.
Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, pl. 16, A

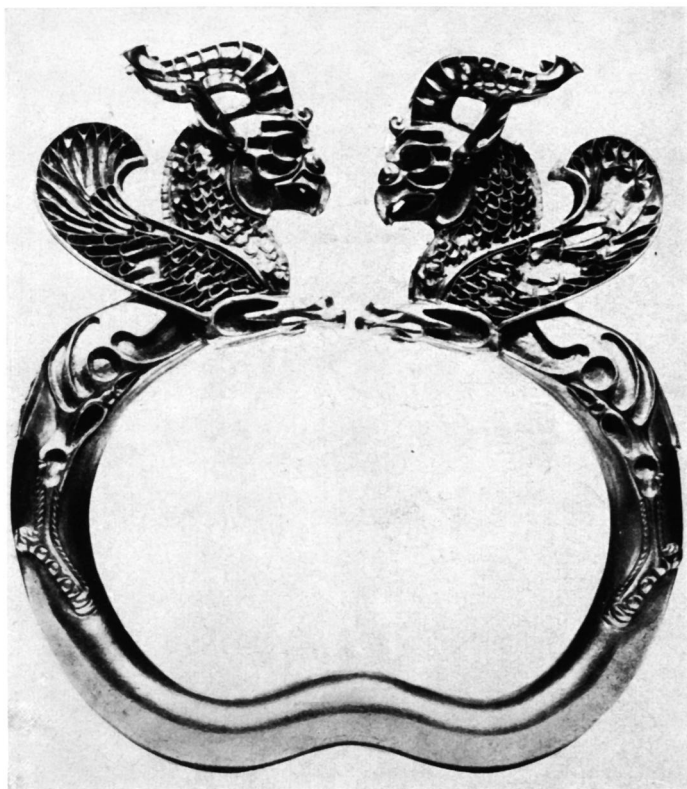


Fig. 17. Gold armlet from the Oxus treasure, probably 5th c. B.C.
Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. 1, 116



Fig. 16. Relief from the Didymaion, Miletus, 4th c. B.C.
Rodenwalt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, p. 194

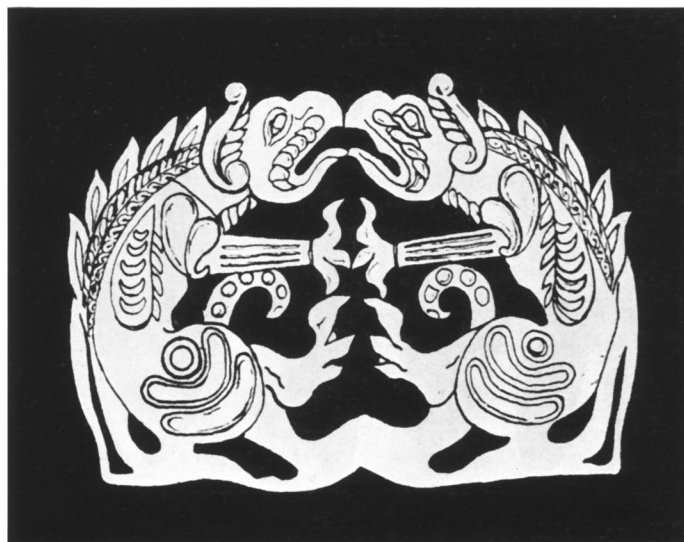


Fig. 18. Hammered out copper plaque, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, fig. 75



Fig. 19. Bronze cauldron handle, 6th c. B.C. type Greek griffin head. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifen Kessel*, 71, Olympia 805



Fig. 20. Red-figure vase from Kerch, 4th c. B.C. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, fig. 6



Fig. 21. Griffin head from the Kuban, early 4th c. B.C. Minns, *Sythians and Greeks*, p. 208



Fig. 22. Wooden griffin head, Pazyryk 2. *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIII, 2

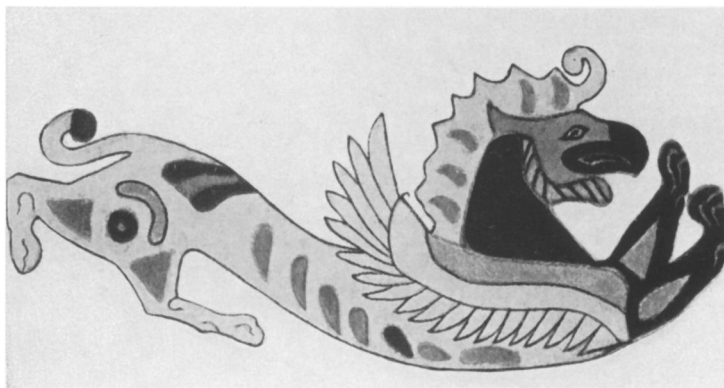


Fig. 23. Felt appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. CIX, 2



Fig. 24. Felt appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 163



Fig. 25. Leather appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 158

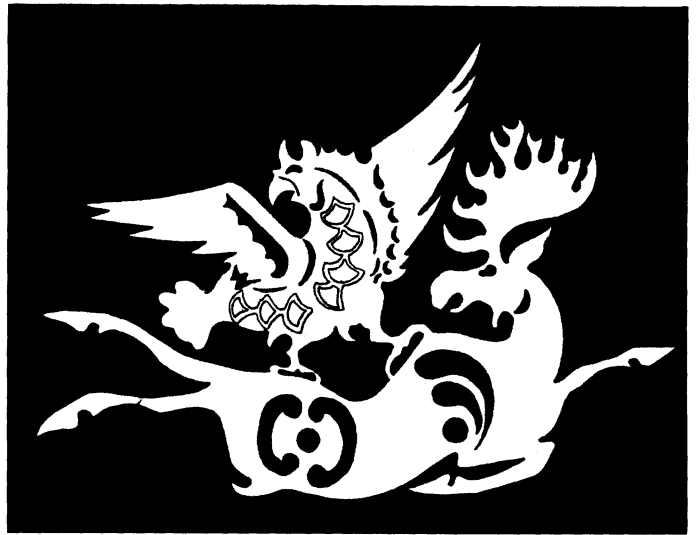


Fig. 26. Leather appliqué saddle cover, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, fig. 161



Fig. 27. Wooden psalion, Pazyryk 1. Griaiznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 16



Fig. 28. Wooden bridle decoration, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. XLIV, 3



Fig. 29. Gold plaque from the Oxus treasure, probably 5th c. B.C. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XXII, 32



Fig. 30. Achaemenian seals from Ur. Legrain, *Ur Excavations X*, pl. 41, 797-798

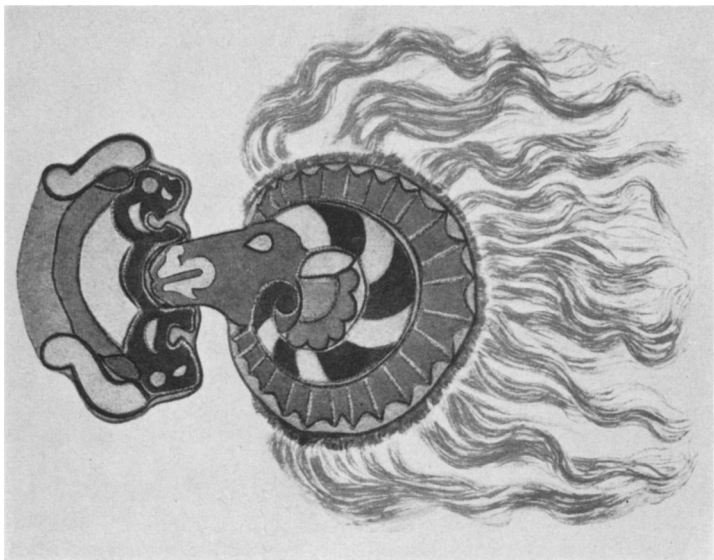


Fig. 31. Horse trapping, Pazyryk 1. *Kul'tura*, pl. CXII

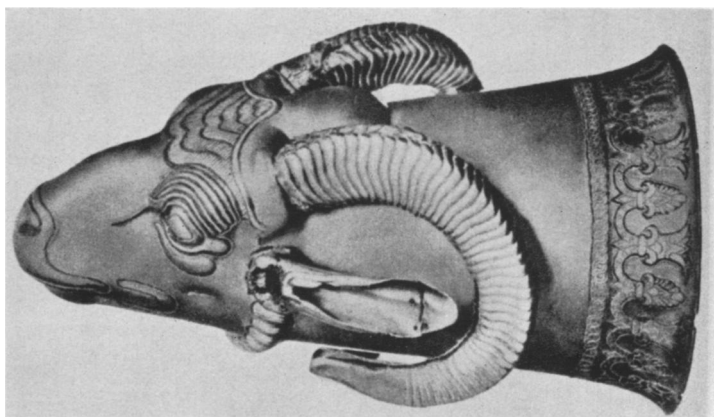


Fig. 33. Achaemenian silver rhyton, Hermitage
Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziviyé*, fig. 65



Fig. 34. Achaemenian gold roundel. Kantor, "Achaemenian Jewelry,"
JNES 16, pl. VII



Fig. 32. Detail of relief from Persepolis. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pl. 120



Fig. 35. Lion griffins made of wood and horn, Pazyryk 2
Kul'tura, pl. XXIX, 2

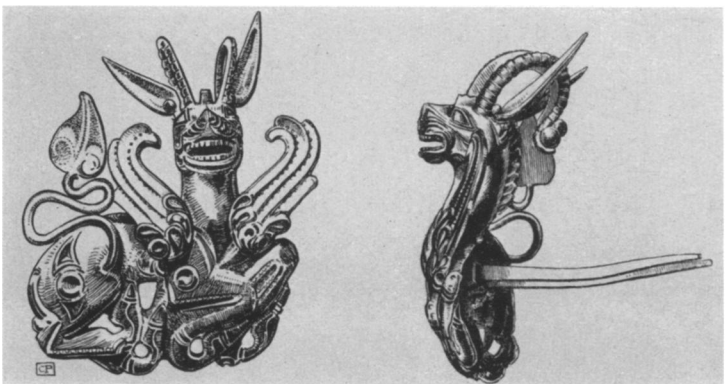


Fig. 36. Aigrette from the Oxus treasure. Dalton,
The Treasure of the Oxus, fig. 46, 23



Fig. 37. Leather saddle arch, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. CV, 1

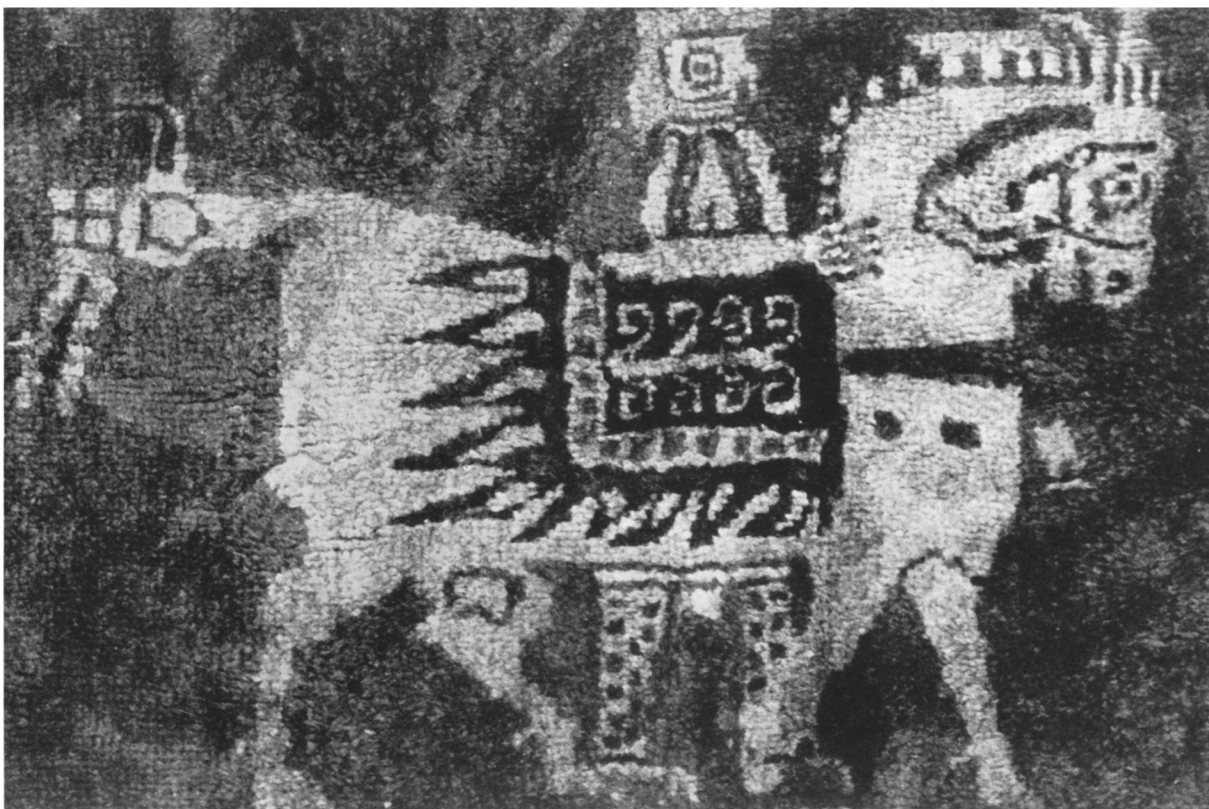


Fig. 38. Detail of rug woven in the pile technique, Pazyryk 5. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 59

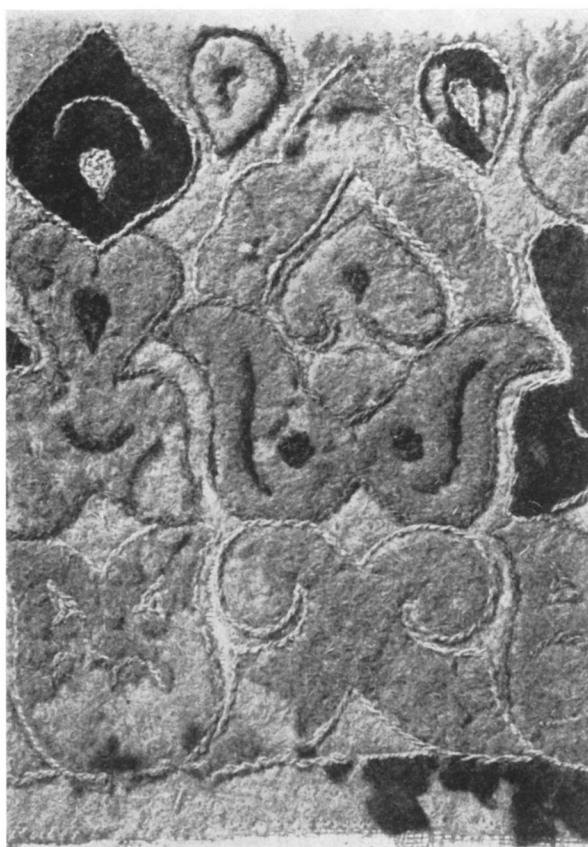


Fig. 39. Felt appliqué, Pazyryk 2. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Altai*, fig. 63

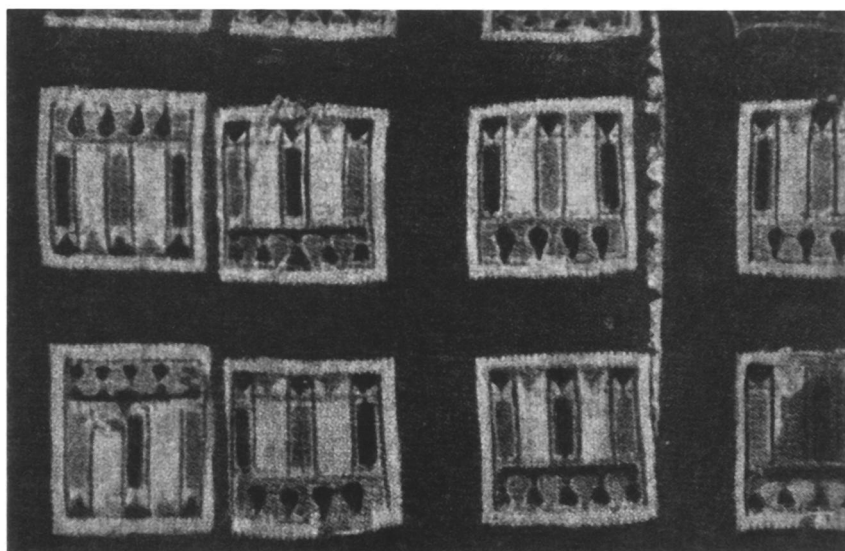


Fig. 40. Woven fabric, Pazyryk 5. *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 2



Fig. 41. Felt appliqué wall hanging, Pazyryk 5. Restoration from V. Shilov, *Soobshchenia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* X, 1956, p. 41



Fig. 42. Detail of pectoral from Ziwiye, possibly 7th c. B.C. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, fig. 20

from Kul Oba from the fourth century B.C. display a similar motif¹⁶ (Fig. 6). These are related to the type represented on a Greek bronze plate of the fourth century B.C.¹⁷ which has for its prototype certain palmette complexes on sixth century B.C. Greek vases¹⁸. On both Greek and south Russian Medusa heads the palmette is used as an external and ornamental factor on the heads¹⁹ (Fig. 7) whereas the Pazyryk artist has cut out a human head in the center of the palmette (Fig. 5). This process of reinterpretation goes further on another horse trapping from the same saddle where the palmette is replaced by a crown of curling antlers²⁰, a motif more familiar and meaningful to the local artist. Neither the palmette nor the Classical Medusa head is indigenous to the Altai. Horned animals are common in Scythian art; the prevalence of antlers in Pazyryk has caused at least one scholar to see symbolic and mythical meanings in such representations²¹.

A *continuous scroll* motif found on a belt from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 8) consists of alternating spirals in a continuous scroll, decorated with drop-like plaques at the junctures of the spirals. A border pattern on a circular medallion from Kul Oba shows a motif almost identical to that on the Pazyryk belt except that the drop-shaped ornaments are there replaced by heart-shaped forms placed in precisely the same positions²². A similar pattern, without the drop-shaped ornaments, is again used on the border pattern of a silver vase from the same tumulus in south Russia²³ which Schefold placed in the second half of the fourth century B.C.²⁴ A possible Greek prototype for these patterns is a *sima* from Corfu of the sixth century B.C. (Fig. 9). There, the junctures of the spirals are decorated with three lobed ornaments which may represent stylized palmettes. Several saddle decorations from Pazyryk show abstract motifs which may have been derived from similar and more realistic prototypes²⁵.

Similar to the continuous scroll pattern is an appliqué design from an article of clothing found in the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 10) showing a continuous interweaving of leaf-like shapes and animal elements. This motif is directly related to another appliqué on leather from the same kurgan²⁶ which freely repeats its floral details. A possible prototype for the appliqué design on Fig. 10, may be a floral scroll represented without the ibex heads on a quiver case from Chertomlyk (Fig. 11) which is derived from similar scrolls in Greek art particularly of the fourth century B.C.²⁷ The single leather cut-out flower shape which Rudenko calls a "realistic lotus"²⁸, is, as he observes, similar to the border pattern on a woman's stocking from the same

¹⁶ Schefold, *op. cit.*, p. 20, assigns it to some time after 360 B.C.

¹⁷ W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1886-1890, p. 1722.

¹⁸ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, figs. 51, right, 55, d. These examples if reversed show a somewhat more rigid pattern, which is, however, basically similar to the south Russian and Pazyryk motifs.

¹⁹ Relief from the cella of the temple of Artemis at Sardis which has been tentatively dated to the fourth century B.C. or later by H. C. Butler, *Sardis, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis* II, 1, Leiden 1925, ill. 89.

²⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXX, 7.

²¹ A. Salmony, *Antler and Tongue*, *Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XIII, 1954, p. 20.

²² Kondakov-Tolstoi-Reinach, *op. cit.* supra note 10, fig. 207.

²³ *Ibid.*, fig. 260.

²⁴ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 20.

²⁵ *Kul'tura*, fig. 110, B, E, and perhaps K.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XCIII, 1.

²⁷ S. Perrot, C. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria* I, London 1884, fig. 270, sixth century B.C. example. Early Hellenistic example from Fratti di Salerno, A. W. Van Buren, "News Letter from Rome," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61, 4, 1957, henceforth *AJA*, pl. 107, 8. F. Noak, *Die Baukunst des Altertums*, pl. 55, a.

²⁸ *Kul'tura*, p. 292, fig. 171.

kurgan²⁹. These examples, however, lack any definite lotus characteristics but make an interesting comparison with other abstract floral patterns from the same kurgan³⁰.

The closest analogies to the *lotus-palmette-cross* carved in low relief on two horn discs from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 12)³¹ appear on several Corinthian vases of the sixth century B.C.³² The basic compositional elements of the Pazyryk discs are similar to a pattern on a Corinthian plate of the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.³³, but different from Achaemenian and many-petalled Assyrian lotuses³⁴. The *double-palmette-cross* represented on several wood carvings from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 13) is a free interpretation of a palmette-cross pattern present on Greek coins of Mende from the second half of the fifth century B.C.³⁵ and repeated on a mosaic floor of House A vi, 8, at Olynthos³⁶, probably from the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 14). The Greek examples are clearly articulated, while the Pazyryk figures show only the essentials of the palmette without the hook-like sepals usually indicated at the base of the leaves.

One of the best known and most widely distributed motifs is the *lotus inscribed in its tendrils*, represented on the border of a felt appliqué wall hanging from Pazyryk (Fig. 15). This motif appears as early as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in the Classical world and is used again much later in the art of Persia and its neighbouring cultures during the Sassanian period. An ivory fragment found at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and dated to approximately the sixth century B.C.³⁷ shows a similar lotus with tendrils curving up from the base and joining above the lotus in a heart-shaped pattern. This motif is referred to as the "palmette fleur-delysée" by R. Mécquenem³⁸ who perhaps associated it with the numerous palmette forms similarly inscribed in heart-shaped tendrils on Greek vases and architectural ornaments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.³⁹ (Fig. 16). A gold band from the Chertomlyk tumulus in south Russia⁴⁰, dated to the fourth century B.C. by Schefold⁴¹, shows a compromise between a lotus and a palmette motif inscribed in its tendrils.

Non-floral motifs of Classical origin are few in the art of Pazyryk. Perhaps the most significant of these is the *bird griffin* which occupies a major place in the combat scene compositions. This motif has a long history in the Near East beginning in Ur of the third millennium B.C.⁴², and perpetuated by the Assyro-Babylonians⁴³ who in turn passed it to the Achaemenian Per-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. XCIV, 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. XCIII, 1, XCVII, fig. 65.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. C, 3.

³² Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, figs. 53, 54 B-D, 57, 59.

³³ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* I, pl. 6: 4. Berkeley UCMA 8/104.

³⁴ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, fig. 54 A.

³⁵ S. P. Noe, *The Mende Hoard, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 27, pp. 51-53, pl. IX, 82.

³⁶ David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1933, permission granted to reproduce pl. 16, A, in this paper.

³⁷ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus, the Archaic Artemisia*, London 1908, pl. XLII, 15, 19.

³⁸ *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, Press Universitaires de France 1947, XXX, p. 103.

³⁹ Robinson, Harcum and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, Toronto 1930, Toronto 600-C. 410, pls. XCV, LXIV.

⁴⁰ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 44.

⁴¹ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 28.

⁴² L. Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Seal Cylinders* X, Publication of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia, London/Philadelphia 1951, pl. 42, nos. 805-806.

⁴³ W. Schwenzner, "Das geschäftliche Leben im alten Babylonien," *Der alte Orient* 16-18, Leipzig 1916, nos. 337, 355.

sians. The latter represented this motif in all media⁴⁴ but showed little variation from a single prototype of the compactly built feline with a bird's head, wings, bird's claws on the hind quarters, little or no indication of a mane⁴⁵, and marked with characteristically Near Eastern muscular stylizations⁴⁶ (Fig. 17). This type of griffin was not adopted in south Russia even when Persian influence was strongest⁴⁷. N. N. Progrebova has pointed out the differences between the south Russian griffins⁴⁸. She has described an Assyrian type demonstrated by the example on the sword sheath from the Melgunov barrow⁴⁹ dated to the sixth century B.C.⁵⁰; a Greek type as represented on a silver mirror of the same date from Kelermes⁵¹; and a purely Scythian type, a realistic bird of prey with a protuberance on its head. The Greek type has a feline body with one or more circular protuberances on its head and is less realistic than the Scythian creature with its tuft of hair.

As in south Russia, three types of bird griffins are found in Pazyryk; the realistic bird of prey with a protuberance on its head⁵² which is sometimes given an element of fantasy by the addition of antlers⁵³; the Achaemenian type (Fig. 18); and the Greek type based on prototypes from the Black Sea region. Corinthian vase paintings of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. show the griffin with either an avian or feline body, and a long neck and swan-like head with one or more protuberances, horns and ears⁵⁴. The same characteristics appear on Greek bronzes of this period as demonstrated by the excellent illustrations of Ulf Jantzen⁵⁵ (Fig. 19). The bronzes usually show the griffin with its mouth open. It is otherwise identical in type to those represented on Greek vases of the same period. There is no indication of a mane other than a few curls and scales as seen also on contemporary south Russian examples⁵⁶. A red-figure vase from Vulci dated to the fifth century B.C.⁵⁷ shows an Arimaspiian in combat with a griffin which, with its long neck decorated with a spiral curl, is identical to the sixth century B.C. griffins⁵⁸.

A new type of griffin appears in Greek art of the fourth century B.C. It is to be seen on

⁴⁴ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, I, XXII; E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, Oxford 1941, pls. LXV, LXXXIV, top left, fig. 362.

⁴⁵ In this case "mane" indicates only the hair along the back of the neck, and not the ruff or hair around the face.

⁴⁶ On the different shapes and reasons for muscular stylizations, see Anne Roes, "Achaemenid Influences upon Egyptian and Nomad Art," *Artibus Asiae* 15, 1952, pp. 18-19; and A. Salmony, "Sarmatian Gold Collected by Peter the Great. The Early Sarmatian Group with Embossed Relief," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1949, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 50. Although the Achaemenian lion griffin is found in south Russian art of the fifth century B.C., *ibid.*, pl. XVI, 1, the Persian type of bird griffin is rare there.

⁴⁸ N. N. Pogrebova, on griffins in the art of the northern Black Sea area in the archaic period, *Kratkie soobshchenia o dokladakh i polevich issledovaniakh instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury* 22, 1948, p. 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 14.

⁵⁰ Schefold, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 14.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 14.

⁵² *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXV, 3, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pl. LXXXIV, 1.

⁵⁴ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pls. 35: 4; 36: 1, 8, 10.

⁵⁵ Ulf Jantzen, *Griechische Greifen Kessel*, *Deutsches archäologisches Institut*, Berlin 1955.

⁵⁶ Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. IV shows a silver mirror from Kelermes in the Kuban, dated to the sixth century B.C., pl. X, B, a bronze pole top from the Kuban, in the Hermitage, dated to the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 67, gives the same dating. M. Rostovtsev, *The Animal Style in South Russia*, Princeton 1920, pl. IX, 1.

⁵⁷ M. Valotaire, "Vases Peints du Cabinet Turpin Crissé," *Revue Archéologique* 17, 1923, p. 51.

⁵⁸ For complete figures of bronze griffins, see G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike*, Berlin 1927, p. 163; *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 52, 1937, pls. 34-35.

Attic vases made for export to Kerch⁵⁹ (Fig. 20) and elsewhere⁶⁰. In these examples the griffin is depicted as a powerfully built winged feline with ears, a bird's head and a long mane resembling fish fins. This monster has little in common with the sixth century B.C. type (Fig. 19). The stylized knob on the head is gone, and the wings and powerfully built body are closer to the Near Eastern types than those of Greece of the sixth century B.C. This change did not occur suddenly but happened after almost a century of development. The reason for the change is documented by Greek coins of the fifth century B.C. The advance of Persian arms to the Aegean brought about the cessation of coinage at Miletus, Ephesus and Phocaea and the substitution of Sardian coinage after approximately 544 B.C. Persian oppression drove large numbers of Teian and Phocean citizens to Thrace, Italy and Gaul. The emigrees took with them their moneyer's skills. Thereafter, coins of Graeco-Asiatic stamp appeared on the coasts of Thrace, Italy and Gaul. The Teian seated griffin emerged at Abdera in Thrace, a source of abundant and imaginative coinage⁶¹.

The archetype of the fourth century B.C. Greek griffin appears on Teian coins of the sixth century B.C.⁶² After the Teian immigration in the first half of the fifth century B.C.⁶³, Abderan coins show the Teian type of griffin with a short, slightly dentated mane⁶⁴. Coins produced after the middle of the fifth century B.C. show a transition from the saw tooth to the fish-fin type mane⁶⁵. The earlier dentated mane, a characteristic feature of Assyrian griffins and felines⁶⁶, is not seen on griffins from Achaemenid Persia⁶⁷. This feature, however, probably continued to exist in Graeco-Asiatic areas such as Teos. A comparison between the griffin on the sixth century B.C. Teian coins and the Assyrian examples shows close parallels in the treatment of the mane, body and head⁶⁸. These features were further developed by Greek artists who finally created the fourth century type seen on Kerch vases (Fig. 20) and in the recently discovered mosaic from Pella in Macedonia⁶⁹ which is the dominant type in the fourth century. One of the earliest representations of such a griffin in south Russia is the relief on the body of the stag from Kul Oba⁷⁰ which Schefold places in the middle of the fifth century B.C.⁷¹ The naturalism of the small animals represented in relief on the body of the stag is indicative of Greek influence if not workmanship. The griffin on this piece shows a short mane with

⁵⁹ K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kercher Vasen*, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen*, Berlin/Leipzig, pls. 25: 569, 461; 40: 227; 125: 516, 492.

⁶⁰ H. Metzger, "Le Représentation dans la Céramique Attique de IV^e Siècle," *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 172, pls. XXIV, oenochoe from the British Museum, XLII, pelike from the British Museum, XLII, pelike from Cabinet des Médailles.

⁶¹ Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London 1933, p. 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pl. VI, 10, 12. The griffins have short saw-tooth edged manes, not yet the developed fish-fin.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII, 7, 10-13.

⁶⁶ Schwenzner, *op. cit.* supra note 43, pp. 61: 293; 64: 311; 65: 319-320; 67: 334; 68: 337-339; particularly the figure on p. 71: 355.

⁶⁷ The only example that approaches this manner of representing the mane is seen on a lion, *ibid.*, p. 102: 510, and even this example is more similar to a herring bone pattern.

⁶⁸ See supra notes 62, 66.

⁶⁹ E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA* 62, 3, 1958, p. 86, 4.

⁷⁰ Kondakov-Tolstoi-Reinach, *op. cit.* supra note 10, fig. 268. Or T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, New York 1957, pl. 24, p. 159, where two different dates are given for the same piece.

⁷¹ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 21.

crescent-shaped edges similar to the fourth century type, but not as developed as the fish-fin-shaped mane seen on the fourth century griffin head from the third barrow of the Seven Brothers group in the Kuban⁷² (Fig. 21). Among south Russian finds of the fourth century B.C. and later, this type is universal⁷³.

One group of Pazyryk bird griffins with parallels in south Russia belongs to this fourth century B.C. type. A wooden griffin head from the second Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 22) is almost a duplicate of the head from the Kuban (Fig. 21). Another griffin head from Pazyryk, made of colored felt and tassels, repeats the same features⁷⁴ which are also present in griffins represented in combat (Figs. 23–24). The Pazyryk combat scenes include two classes of compositions. The first is distinguished by a naturalistic and lively battle between a carnivore and a herbivore, depicted realistically and decoratively (Fig. 25). In this group the attacking animal is usually the panther, an animal indigenous to the Altai and no doubt familiar to the Pazyryk artist. These scenes, derived from actual visual experience, are to be contrasted with the second class of compositions where the attack is unconvincing and the postures unnatural. The aggressor is immobilized at the moment of the attack, while its victim's hind quarters twist in anticipation of the impact⁷⁵. In such scenes the attacking animals are usually fantastic beasts, foreign to the Pazyryk artist in both nature and tradition. The result is a stereotyped design, lacking in spontaneity and life; decorative, but without the movement and vitality of the first group. In one composition the griffin is represented on one side of a saddle cover and its prey on the other, yet the victim's hind quarters are twisted as if under the impact of the attack (Fig. 23) (see below page 333). All bird griffins shown in combat in the Pazyryk kurgans have the fish-fin-shaped manes and belong to the conventional class of combat scenes (Figs. 23–24)⁷⁶. Their closest parallels are the fourth century B.C. south Russian (Fig. 21) and Greek examples (Fig. 20).

The fact that these animals bear Near Eastern muscular stylizations is to be expected. Such motifs are incorporated into most of the representations of animals in Pazyryk, whether of Scythian, Near Eastern, or other origin. This is well illustrated by a griffin which combines the classical type crescent-edged mane with the realistic body of the Scythian bird of prey⁷⁷ (Fig. 26). This hybridization is further elaborated on a horse's psalion (Fig. 27) which shows Achaemenid muscular stylization around the beak, the classical mane, and a tuft of hair on the head resembling that of the Scythian bird of prey. It is of great importance for chronological reasons that Classical elements in all the Pazyryk kurgans point to south Russia and Greece of the fourth century B.C. In an article written in 1957, Rudenko convincingly answered some of the questions raised concerning his dating of the Pazyryk burials mainly in the fifth century B.C.⁷⁸. However, the particular problem of the griffin, which had been noted by Kiselev⁷⁹ and men-

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 18, the third barrow of the Seven Brothers group in the Kuban. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 208, 1887. I. 1. No. III, states that this barrow is older than the others in this group.

⁷³ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 159, 198–199.

⁷⁴ *Kul'tura*, fig. 136.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. CXI, CIX, fig. 163.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pls. XXIII, 3, CIX, CXI, figs. 161, 163.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, 3, fig. 161.

⁷⁸ S. I. Rudenko, "K voprosu . . .," *Sovetskaia Arkheologia* 27, 1957, p. 301ff. Here Rudenko gives the major arguments presented by Russian critics of his chronology.

⁷⁹ S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnaia istoriia iuzhnoi Sibiri*, Moskva 1951, pp. 368–371.

tioned in passing by Anne Roes⁸⁰, was not again raised by Rudenko⁸¹. Rudenko's comment on this subject made in his earlier writing is not as convincing as his other arguments⁸². In his earlier book he considered Assyria as the source of the prototype for the Pazyryk griffin, which he suggests reached the Altai through Urartu. The weakness of his argument is that while many parallels to the Pazyryk griffin exist in south Russia and Greece, none have been discovered at Urartu, and Assyrian griffins do not show the developed fish-fin-shaped mane. The Pazyryk griffins show the fish-fin-shaped mane which evolved specifically in the Classical world and was the established feature of Greek griffins of the fourth century B.C.

The analogy between the wooden horse trappings in the form of human heads from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 28) and certain Classical *Bes* or gorgon heads has already been noted by Kiselev⁸³. He suggested that the Mongoloid type represented on one of these heads is evidence of Hunnic penetration into Pazyryk, which would thus date the burials to a later period than the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.⁸⁴ This evidence alone would be insufficient to support that conclusion, even if the sole argument against it were the fact that only one of the five heads is definitely of Mongoloid type. These heads, together with the leather cut-out from the second Pazyryk kurgan which shows a bearded head with an extended mouth⁸⁵, are treated in the same schematized manner as the *Bes* heads from the Oxus treasure⁸⁶ (Fig. 29) and lack the naturalism of the south Russian and Greek gorgon or Medusa heads⁸⁷. The Oxus region rather than south Russia may here be responsible for the tranference of this motif to Pazyryk.

The Oxus treasure bears witness to the strong influence excercised by Persia in the Oxus region during the Achaemenid period. Bactria and the area north of the Oxus river were satrapies of the Persian empire during the reign of Darius. It appears that the Central Asiatic tribes, prior to the conquest by Alexander, established a trade route providing direct contact between the Oxus region and the north-east⁸⁸. In the second half of the fourth century B.C., conflict between Alexander and some of the Central Asiatic tribes closed this route and put an end to the free transmission of Near Eastern products through the Oxus region to the north. The Pazyryk burials contain innumerable Achaemenian influences and some direct imports, the most obvious of which have been recognized by others and will, therefore, be only briefly mentioned here.

The woolen rug woven in the pile technique from kurgan number 5⁸⁹ and the gold earring

⁸⁰ Anne Roes, "Achaemenid Influences on Egyptian and Nomad Art," *Artibus Asiae* 15, 1952, p. 26.

⁸¹ In his recent article on "The Mythological Eagle, the Gryphon, the Winged Lion, and the Wolf in the Art of the Northern Nomads," *Artibus Asiae* XXI, 2, 1958, p. 107, Rudenko recognizes the crenellated crest in the Kiev group of griffins as Greek influence from the fourth century B.C., but continues to date the Pazyryk kurgans from the fifth century B.C., *ibid.*, pp. 104, 107.

⁸² *Kul'tura*, pp. 346-348.

⁸³ Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 373-374.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

⁸⁵ *Kul'tura*, fig. 114.

⁸⁶ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, nos. 7, 32; E. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, *The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications* 69, Chicago 1957, pls. 31: 4, 41: 7.

⁸⁷ *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* IX, Berlin 1927, pl. 184, c, shows a bearded satyr head in front view with naturalistically represented hair and features, unlike the schematic heads from Pazyryk and Achaemenid art.

⁸⁸ Kiselev, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-361.

⁸⁹ The complete rug is reproduced in A. L. Mongait, *Arkhologia v SSSR*, Moskva 1955, pl. facing p. 164.

decorated with inlays and granulation from the second kurgan⁹⁰ are unique in Pazyryk. They demonstrate the complex techniques of weaving and granulation known within the Achaemenid empire and show motifs which were familiar to Persia⁹¹ with prototypes in Assyrian art⁹². Strong Achaemenian influence is present in several woven pieces of fabric⁹³ which even if local copies, are evidence of Achaemenian textile patterns. One fragment shows a lion procession which repeats in detail⁹⁴ lion processions from Persepolis, Susa and Achaemenid jewelry⁹⁵. A second fragment shows two figures and their attendants confronting an incense burner⁹⁶. All four figures wear serrated crowns and long robes decorated with mural patterns and circles. Each of the two main figures in the center holds a lotus in one hand and raises the other hand through the folds of drapery which hangs from the crown to the knees. Neither the clothing and crowns worn by these figures nor the incense burner has any parallel in actual Pazyryk finds. Their analogies are to be found in Achaemenid Persia where such incense burners were used for religious purposes, as seen on a relief from Persepolis⁹⁷. The lotus had religious significance for the ancient Persians and especially for the followers of the cult of Anahita which was the popular religion of some of the Iranian people, such as the Saka. In the first half of the fourth century B.C., Artaxerxes officially promulgated the worship of Anahita throughout the empire. An Achaemenian cylinder seal, perhaps from this period⁹⁸, shows a figure in a long robe, probably Anahita, seated on a throne while another figure approaches offering a dove. An incense burner similar to that on the Pazyryk fabric is placed before the seated figure. Furthermore, the approaching figure wears a long robe and serrated crown from which drapery hangs down her back, all of which parallel the central figures on the Pazyryk fabric. The Pazyryk figures with lotuses, perhaps queens, may well be invoking the goddess from the Persian seal whose symbol they hold.

Other than these examples which have direct parallels in Achaemenid art, there exist works of probably local manufacture, which less directly show Near Eastern influences. In contrast to the Classical motifs, which consist largely of floral elements, most of the Near Eastern influences in Pazyryk are the animal motifs which had played an important role in the art of the ancient Near East from prehistoric times.

The tradition of animal representation in the ancient Near East finds its fullest expression in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. in Assyria, where animals, when not playing a symbolic role, are represented in their natural surroundings, in combat, or in decorative processions. The muscles of the animals are indicated by grooves and lines or by colored inlays on small metal objects. The Achaemenian Persians who adopted this tradition of animal representation both technically and stylistically, narrowed its range mainly to the glorification of the monarchs. Their art was exercised in the service of the king; and to achieve this end, the Persian artist most often

⁹⁰ *Kul'tura*, fig. 78.

⁹¹ M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris 1890, pl. 8, shows lotuses similar to those on the earring from Pazyryk.

⁹² *Ibid.*, fig. 163.

⁹³ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 1-3.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. CXVII, 1.

⁹⁵ H. J. Kantor, "Achaemenid Jewelry," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16, January 1957, pl. V, a, b.

⁹⁶ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 3.

⁹⁷ Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. LXVII.

⁹⁸ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, fig. 9.

excluded natural surroundings and landscape⁹⁹, used repetition at the price of spontaneity and stylization at the cost of naturalism, and employed heraldic and bisymmetrical compositions. We know little of the popular and nonmonumental art of the Achaemenians, due perhaps to its perishable quality. Such an art probably existed, at least in areas distant from the major cities of the empire; as may be inferred from objects from the Oxus treasure¹⁰⁰ and a few seals from an Achaemenian deposit at Ur¹⁰¹ (Fig. 30). The latter depict animals which are extremely lively and almost unaffected by the weight of tradition and formality which bears so heavily on monumental art, such as the famous combat scene at Persepolis. The lions in most cases attack from above, and on several seals the ibex is shown with its hind legs outstretched in line with its back (Fig. 30). Perhaps it is to be expected that Achaemenian influences in Pazyryk would belong to the popular rather than the monumental art of Persia since influences reaching Pazyryk originated mainly in the northern provinces some distance from the capitals and largest cities.

An appliqué saddle cover from the first Pazyryk kurgan (Fig. 25) shows a vigorous *combat scene* in which the artist seems mainly interested in the decorative effect of his composition and exploits realistic animal forms to create a pattern which is both decorative and animated. The aim of the artist of this composition is indeed very different from that of the Achaemenian sculptor who carved the lion attacking a bull on the base of the staircase of the apadana¹⁰². The static quality of the latter animals is in keeping with the other relief figures at Persepolis. Much closer to the Pazyryk designs are the Achaemenian seals¹⁰³ which show animation and movement not suggested by the large stone reliefs.

The Pazyryk combat scenes often show markings on the bodies of the animals in the shapes of the "bow and dot" or "apple and pear" motifs (Figs. 23–24) which in the Near East represent stylized musculature. The prototypes of these motifs have been discussed at length by Salmony and Anne Roes¹⁰⁴; the first of whom claims that such motifs were derived from the technique of inlay in the Near East, and the second, that indications of such stylizations are shown on early reliefs and sculptures of the same area. Whatever the prototype may be, it is the Near East. This is significant to this study since it is apparent that the most conventional combat scenes with foreign monsters and beasts in Pazyryk show the greatest number of body markings (Figs. 23–24), while they are fewer in number or absent on the realistic and animated examples (Fig. 25)¹⁰⁵. The idea of the combat scene is itself foreign to the earliest art of the Scythians¹⁰⁶ who most probably acquired it from the Near East where it had been used from early times¹⁰⁷.

The representation of combat between a lion and an ibex on a pair of silver belt buckles

⁹⁹ Sometimes trees or reeds are rendered to clarify the story, H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, pl. 35, d, f, k.

¹⁰⁰ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pls. IX–X.

¹⁰¹ See also, Legrain, *op. cit.* supra note 42, pl. 41, nos. 795, 796, 799, 800.

¹⁰² Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. LII, below.

¹⁰³ Other Achaemenid seals are reproduced in, Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 15, P7733; 14, PT6130, no. 76; 18, PT5495; 16, PT651.

¹⁰⁴ A. Salmony, "Sarmatian Gold Collected by Peter the Great," *op. cit.* supra note 46.

¹⁰⁵ *Kul'tura*, figs. 156–160.

¹⁰⁶ The Near Eastern origin of the combat scene has been discussed by Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 193, and T. Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, p. 161, among others. Rudenko, *Kul'tura*, p. 316ff., points out the analogy between certain Pazyryk combat scenes and the combat scene from the relief at Persepolis.

¹⁰⁷ For early examples, see Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. 31: g; 35: g; 42: l; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale IV*, Paris 1947, fig. 1150.

from the second Pazyryk kurgan shows¹⁰⁸ the conventionalized pose and muscular stylization seen in Achaemenid art, and may be compared with the Persian seals which depict the lion as the aggressor and the ibex as the victim in almost every case. A silver handle ornament from the Oxus treasure shows the same herring bone rendering of the horns of the ibex as well as similar "bow and dot" body markings¹⁰⁹.

Representations of the ibex with other *cervids* is a recurring theme in Pazyryk. These representations may be divided into three major groups: (1) the realistic representation of animals in the round, relief or appliqué; (2) heads of animals represented in the same techniques; (3) representations of animals in distorted and anatomically impossible positions. To the first group belong the free-standing figures of stags on a disc or pedestal¹¹⁰. These realistic animals are among the finest in Pazyryk and their stance is without parallel in Achaemenid art. They are unrelated to the Assyro-Babylonian tradition, but may be compared to figures of a much earlier date among the Ordos bronzes, and small statuettes from Cappadocia and the Caucasus¹¹¹ from the early part of the first millennium B. C. Figures of cervids in *antithetic positions* from Pazyryk¹¹², on the other hand, have parallels in the Near East as early as the second millennium B. C., as illustrated by the seals from Kirkuk¹¹³. These postures continue in Assyrian art of the ninth century B. C.¹¹⁴ and frequently occur on Achaemenian seals and jewelry¹¹⁵. The hammered copper figures in back-to-back and front-to-front poses, and wooden cervid figures in similar poses on bridles from Pazyryk, are certainly related to Near Eastern types in composition if not in details¹¹⁶. Antithetic animals also appear elsewhere in Scythian art, particularly in the sixth century B. C.¹¹⁷

The second class of cervid representation, namely the use of the *animal's head as a decorative unit*, appears repeatedly in Pazyryk. Such heads are often made in the round and used as finials¹¹⁸, made in relief on wooden discs¹¹⁹, or cut out from leather or felt and used as appliqué on felt or as decoration on horse trappings (Fig. 31). Zoomorphic pins as well as jewelry from Luristan¹²⁰ of the beginning of the first millennium B. C. show single animal heads used as finials, while in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C., the Assyrians used the same motif on furniture and jewelry¹²¹. It is only in Achaemenid art that isolated animal heads occur as independent decorative elements, as on a pendant of a necklace at Chicago, and in bracteates in the form of lion and

¹⁰⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXVII, 1, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. V, 10.

¹¹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXIX, 2.

¹¹¹ Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 174, fig. 293.

¹¹² *Kul'tura*, pls. IX, 1; XLI, 4, figs. 72-73.

¹¹³ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 273.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 370.

¹¹⁵ Kantor, "Achaemenid Jewelry," *op. cit.* supra note 95, pl. 9.

¹¹⁶ See supra note 112

¹¹⁷ Schefold, *op. cit.* supra note 6, p. 8, places the following in the sixth century B. C.: *ibid.*, figs. 8-9, from the Melgunov barrow. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. VI, from Kelermes; G. Borovka, *Scythian Art*, London 1928, pl. 36, A, is from the third century B. C.

¹¹⁸ *Kul'tura*, pls. XXXVI, 1; XXXIII, 2, 3; XLVI, 1; XLV, 3-4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pls. XLVIII, 1; CV, 3.

¹²⁰ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 275; A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye*, Haarlem 1950, fig. 43.

¹²¹ A. Patterson, *Assyrian Sculptures, Palace of Sennacherib*, Holland, pl. 21; E. A. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum, Reign of Assur-Nasir-Pal, 885-860 B. C.*, London 1914, pls. 29, 31-32.

griffin heads probably meant to be sewn on clothing¹²². Helene Kantor suggests a Scythian origin for such heads in Achaemenid art¹²³ and points out that in certain cases the Pazyryk artists borrowed back in Persian form a motif typical of the steppes. In Achaemenid art ibex heads are often given a circular mane ending in small spirals or curls¹²⁴ in imitation of lion manes. This manner of representation is also seen on seal impressions from Ur¹²⁵ where lions and other animals are given similar manes¹²⁶. A horse trapping from the first Pazyryk kurgan shows an ibex head between the lower jaws of two lion griffins (Fig. 31). Around the head of the ibex is a crescent edged halo which is actually a stylization of the circular mane seen on the Achaemenian animal heads. The Pazyryk head is at once fantastic and familiar. The flowing tassels, the rich effect of contrasting colors and the particular compositional theme, are fantastic, but individually the ibex and lion griffin heads have many parallels in Achaemenid art. The palmette motif behind the ear of the ibex is identical to a detail from a sword sheath worn by a figure on a frieze at Persepolis (Fig. 32). Palmettes on the heads of animals and birds also appear in Scythian art from the Dnieper¹²⁷ to the Kuban¹²⁸. A second ibex head from a circular horse trapping from Pazyryk¹²⁹ again shows the stylized mane around the head. Ibex heads made of wood in the round from several Pazyryk kurgans¹³⁰ may be compared to Achaemenian types (Fig. 33) in the use of the "drop" motif below the eyes and ridges on the horns.

To the third group of cervids in Pazyryk belong the numerous figures represented in *anatomically distorted positions*. One manner of distortion is the representation of the animal's head in front view with distorted profiles of the body shown on either side of the head¹³¹. Griaznov¹³² believes this to be the result of the inability of the artist to represent the animal in any other than a strictly frontal or profile perspective. In his desire to create movement, the Altai artist often combines these two types of perspective in a single animal which may be shown with the head carved in the round, and the body displayed in profile on both sides of the head. The twisted hind quarters enhance the effect of movement. A gold plaque from Ziwiye¹³³ from about the seventh century B.C.¹³⁴ shows two lions in profile joined together by a single head represented in front view. The same theme is encountered in Greece during the Orientalizing period when sphinxes were represented in the same pose on Corinthian vases¹³⁵ which probably owed the source of this inspiration to the eastern artists¹³⁶. Although Achaemenian artists did not utilize

¹²² Kantor, *op. cit.* supra note 95, p. 8.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 4; *Illustrated London News*, July 1948, p. 59, fig. 7.

¹²⁵ Legrain, *op. cit.* supra note 42, pl. 42, no. 807.

¹²⁶ This is noted by Helene Kantor, see supra note 123.

¹²⁷ Borovka, *Scythian Art*, pls. 5, A, C, 8, C.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 5, B, 8, A; Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, pl. XIII, A-C.

¹²⁹ *Kul'tura*, pl. CVII, 3.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. XXXVI, 2; XLV, 5; XLVI, 1; LXX, 7.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 5, 6.

¹³² M. Griaznov, *L'Art ancien de l'Atai*, Leningrad 1958, pp. 18, 20.

¹³³ *Illustrated London News*, April 1955, p. 699.

¹³⁴ For the dating see, R.D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye," *Iraq* 18, 2, 1956, pp. 111-116.

¹³⁵ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 16, no. 14, *Necrocorinthia catalogue no. 39*; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, gives an early example of a similar pose from Siberia, fig. 280.

¹³⁶ Contacts of Urartu with the Classical world and the transference of Near Eastern elements to the west through the Lake Van region are discussed by the following: R.D. Barnett, "The Archaeology of Urartu," *Compte-rendu de la troisième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* 1952, Leiden 1954; R.D. Barnette, "Ancient Oriental Influences in Archaic Greece," *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York 1956; K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop,

this motif, the prototype should be sought in the Near East¹³⁷ where as early as the second millennium B.C. such poses are seen among the numerous coalescing animals on the Kirkuk seals¹³⁸. The discovery of Scythian bird heads at Karmir Blur indicates that Urartu was already in contact with Scythian tribes at the end of the seventh century B.C.¹³⁹ and may well be responsible for the transfer of some motifs, such as the coalescing animals, to the northern Scythian tribes as well as to the west.

A second type of distortion among the Pazyryk animal representations is the twisted hind quarters, best illustrated by the tattoos on the body of the chieftain found in the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁴⁰. The pose of these animals, also present elsewhere in Scythian art, is a carry-over from the combat scene where the impact of the attack causes the victim to throw out its hind quarters. Yet the artist seems to have forgotten the functional origin of this attitude and uses it decoratively on a wooden figure of a crouching carnivore which is usually the attacking animal¹⁴¹. The tattoo animals are nowhere represented in combat but their twisted hind quarters increase the effect of lively motion over the whole surface. There are no parallels to the movement and vitality of design of these tattoos in Near Eastern art¹⁴². The tattoo artist has even represented a winged lion but has assimilated it into his own world of fantasy filled with animals of the most hybrid sort with tails and antlers ending in birds' heads¹⁴³. The dark and light patterns on the torsos of many of the tattoo animals appear to have a solely decorative function and are quite different from the muscular stylizations of Near Eastern animals.

The feline appears more often than any other creature in the art of Pazyryk. The panther, an animal indigenous to the Altai, is as frequently represented as the lion variations most familiar to Near Eastern art. The lion had been represented as the adversary of man in Mesopotamian art since the third millennium B.C.¹⁴⁴ It is used repeatedly in Susa, Persepolis¹⁴⁵ and on Achaemenid jewelry¹⁴⁶. A felt appliqué wall hanging from Pazyryk shows a series of *lion heads* with circular manes ending in small spirals¹⁴⁷. These heads, like the ibex heads (see above p. 332), have their counterpart in the seal impressions from Ur¹⁴⁸, the glazed tiles of Susa¹⁴⁹, and on bracteates from the Achaemenid period¹⁵⁰. The *lion griffin*, which differs from the lion by the addition of wings and horns, is used interchangeably with the lion as an adversary of

"Urartian Bronzes in Etruscan Tombs," *Iraq* 18, 2, 1956, pp. 150-167; M. Pallottino, "Urartu, Greece and Etruria," *East and West* 9, 1-2, March-June 1958. Profile sphinxes joined by a single head are present in Greek art also of the fourth century B.C. and later, see, David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, 1933, pl. 15.

¹³⁷ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 28 ff.

¹³⁸ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 278.

¹³⁹ R.D. Barnett und W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *Iraq* 14, 2, 1952, fig. 4.

¹⁴⁰ *Kul'tura*, figs. 175, 177, 185. For the relative position of the tattoos on the body, see figs. 80-83.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pl. LXII, 2.

¹⁴² One possible example of a twisted hind quarter may be on an Achaemenid seal, see Schmidt, *Persepolis* II, pl. 18, P 73218.

¹⁴³ *Kul'tura*, fig. 179.

¹⁴⁴ Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. 5, a; 10, i; 12, a, b, e; H.R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, Paris 1928, pls. II, XIX; S. Harcourt-Smith, *Babylonian Art*, London 1928, pl. 63.

¹⁴⁵ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII; Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, fig. 153.

¹⁴⁶ Kantor, *op. cit.* supra note 95, pl. V, a, b.

¹⁴⁷ *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIX, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Kantor, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Hall, *op. cit.* supra note 144, pl. XIV, details of swords and furniture.

¹⁵⁰ Kantor, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, B.

Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art. The winged lion and the lion griffin, which is often given birds' claws on its hind quarters in Achaemenid art, play rather important roles in Persian jewelry and metal work (Fig. 34)¹⁵¹. The heraldic poses, body markings, wings and horns of the lion griffins on the two hammered copper plaques from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁵² all recall Achaemenian prototypes; only the horses' hooves on the forelegs betray local interpretation of an unfamiliar foreign tradition. Local interpretation is even more detectable in a leather lion griffin made partly in the round on a horse mask from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹⁵³. The technique and overall effect are unique; only the horns and the "bow and dot" motif on the hind quarters are reminiscent of the Near East.

A row of crouching lion griffins made from wood and horn from Pazyryk (Fig. 35) shows the same pose, long ears, curving horns, open jaws and spade-like tails as the famous aigrette from the Oxus treasure (Fig. 36). The latter is made of gold and precious jewels, and shows Achaemenian influence in the muscular stylization, horns, and technical skill of execution. This piece is also related in its general characteristics to two pairs of lion griffins from western Siberia in the collection of Peter the Great at the Hermitage¹⁵⁴.

A motif rare in Achaemenid art is the *animal head biting another animal* which appears several times in Pazyryk. Animals holding other animal parts in their jaws are represented in the art of Urartu¹⁵⁵, in Etruscan art¹⁵⁶, and are known from Siberia¹⁵⁷. A hook or handle which was acquired in Teheran in 1956¹⁵⁸, now in a Paris collection, shows a lion head biting the head of a goose-like bird. The workmanship appears to be Achaemenian; though if the object was produced in Persia, it is the only example of such a motif which can be attributed to Persia proper. The idea is foreign also to Assyrian art, but it is not unlikely that the neighbouring Lake Van region played an important role in the distribution of this curious theme¹⁵⁹.

Several representations of *birds* in Pazyryk are related to Achaemenid art. Two antithetic and coalescent cocks with open wings and turned-back heads appear in leather cut-outs on a wooden sarcophagus from the first Pazyryk kurgan¹⁶⁰. Apart from the heraldic poses, there seems to be nothing Near Eastern about them. A second example from the same sarcophagus¹⁶¹, however, shows similar figures represented more realistically with the typical Near Eastern "bow" motif

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pls. III, IX, X, fig. 9.

¹⁵² *Kul'tura*, figs. 74, 72, a.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, fig. 134.

¹⁵⁴ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 188; Talbot-Rice, *The Scythians*, pl. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Examples of this motif from Pazyryk: *Kul'tura*, pls. LXXXIV, 4, LXXXIII, 1-2; from Urartu: C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* II, Berlin/Leipzig 1931, pp. 52.

¹⁵⁶ Pericle Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* II, Florence 1927, pl. 50; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 358.

¹⁵⁷ Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads," *op. cit.*, pl. 18, H, p. 72, on the body of the animals; A. Salmony, *Sino-Siberian Art in the C.T. Loo Collection*, Paris 1833, pls. XIII, 3, XVI, 10.

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Amandry, "Orfèvrerie Achéménides," *Antike Kunst* I, Olten/Switzerland 1958, pl. 10, 15-16. Other examples on pl. 10, show the same motif but are from uncertain proveniences.

¹⁵⁹ Feline heads in front view are rare in Achaemenid and Assyrian art. The heads represented in low relief or engraved on wooden discs from Pazyryk, *Kul'tura*, pls. LXXX, 1; LXVII, 3-6; LXVIII, 3-5, 7; XLVIII, 2, differ from the Frolov head, *ibid.*, pl. LXXX, 4, in that the Pazyryk heads are invariably represented without the lower jaws. The animal's head represented in front view from the Oxus treasure, Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pl. XII, 40, shows the same extended mouth and muscular stylizations above the eyes and on the chin as the Frolov piece, and is possibly a derivation from Scythian art.

¹⁶⁰ *Kul'tura*, fig. 17, b.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 17, a.

on the upper wings. A procession of cocks made from leather appliqué¹⁶² clearly shows both the “bow” and “dot” motifs on the wings. Goose heads in turned-back positions are seen on the ends of a wooden bridle part¹⁶³ and as victims of a griffin head in the third Pazyryk kurgan¹⁶⁴. Similar turned-back goose heads are used as ornaments on the ends of Assyrian bows in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C.¹⁶⁵ and appear as vessel decorations among the recently published objects from the treasury of Persepolis¹⁶⁶. A silver bowl of supposedly Achaemenian workmanship, from the Hermitage Museum, shows similar antithetic geese flanking a palmette motif¹⁶⁷. A stuffed leather bird from Pazyryk with its wings outstretched and tail fanned out in the shape of a palmette¹⁶⁸ has a counterpart in a silver pectoral from the Kuban which resembles the former in all but the material in which it is executed¹⁶⁹. This pose is reminiscent of the early Mesopotamian spread eagle¹⁷⁰ which exists in both Assyrian and Persian art¹⁷¹ where the bird is sometimes represented headless with a sun disc on its chest¹⁷².

A leather cut-out pattern on a saddle arch from Pazyryk repeats in an alternately inverted and upright position, what seems to be a stylized Near Eastern winged sun disc (Fig. 37). Single winged sun discs have religious connotations in the Near East where their use is solely symbolic¹⁷³. There is no indication, however, that the people of the Altai were at all familiar with Near Eastern religions and the decorative and repetitious use of the design indicates that the Pazyryk imitator was unaware of the symbolism of the motif.

Notwithstanding the importance of the *horse* in the life of the Pazyryk people, we find rather few representations of it in their burials. Of interest among these are the representations of antithetic horse heads¹⁷⁴. The earliest examples of such a composition are found among the Luristan bronzes¹⁷⁵, in the Caucasus early in the first millennium B.C. where they flank a female figure¹⁷⁶, and on a capital at Pasargadae¹⁷⁷. The latter is perhaps one of the last survivals of a northern motif in Achaemenid art and is not repeated thereafter, nor is it seen in Assyro-Babylonian art. A rug woven in the pile technique from the first Pazyryk kurgan shows a procession of horses (Fig. 38) alternately ridden and led by men wearing hoods of the bashkil or kyrbasia type. The tails of the horses are tied in knots, and their manes are clipped short leaving a bottle-shaped tuft of hair on top of the head¹⁷⁸. Actual remains of horses at Pazyryk do not show this treatment of the top knot, but we find this detail repeatedly used on horses from the Persepolis

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, fig. 71.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX, 1.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. C, 1.

¹⁶⁵ E.F. Weidner, *Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige*, Berlin 1939, figs. 39.

¹⁶⁶ Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 53; 1, 2, 5; 82, 2-3.

¹⁶⁷ A.U. Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1930, I, fig. 86.

¹⁶⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. XXXIII, 4.

¹⁶⁹ Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, fig. 105.

¹⁷⁰ For early Near Eastern spread-eagle motif see, Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pls. XI, g, XXIII, i.

¹⁷¹ *Survey of Persian Art*, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 116, h; “Exhibition of Iranian Art,” *Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente*, June-August 1957, pl. 28, 231.

¹⁷² Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pl. XXXVII, c, 1, n.

¹⁷³ E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II*, pls. 4: 5-6, 5: 8, 11-13, 6: 18, 7: 20-23, 8: 24, 26.

¹⁷⁴ *Kul'tura*, pls. XLVIII, 1, LIII, 1, CV, 2-3.

¹⁷⁵ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, fig. 295, a.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 295, d.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

¹⁷⁸ For a color reproduction see, *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVI, 2.

reliefs¹⁷⁹ and on the handles of a silver amphora, reputedly from Iran¹⁸⁰. No exact counterpart of this knot appears among Assyrian clipped manes¹⁸¹. The riders depicted on the Pazyryk rug wear the flat-topped kyrbasia, the usual head gear of the Iranians, as demonstrated by the reliefs from Nakhsh-e Rostam and Persepolis. This differs from the type worn by the Armenians and Cappadocians as well as from the pointed type worn by the Sakan and Scythian people. The conscious representation of isocephaly on the Pazyryk rug is another factor which connects it to the Persepolis reliefs. In contrast to the bridles found in actual Pazyryk horse burials, the horses shown on the rug have extremely simple bridles, resembling those on the Persepolis reliefs which are decorated with simple rosettes and crescent-shaped motifs at the juncture of the psalion and bit.

Pazyryk bridles are richly decorated with plant and animal motifs made of leather or of wood which is sometimes coated with gold leaf, producing a rich and deceptively heavy appearance. Certain of these motifs such as the *rosette* can be clearly traced to Near Eastern prototypes¹⁸². Single rosettes are used as decoration on a few bridle representations from Assyrian and Achaemenid art where they are used sparingly, unlike the repetitious display on the Pazyryk bridles¹⁸³. Similar rosettes are used as decoration on clothing, furniture, jewelry and in the architecture of the Assyro-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods¹⁸⁴. Related to these are the simple rosettes which decorate the two felt rugs and the body of the fantastic sphinx on the wall hanging from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan¹⁸⁵.

An Assyrian *lotus-palmette* design is possibly the prototype for the central theme of the Pazyryk rug discussed earlier¹⁸⁶. The Achaemenian lotus-palmette used in a chain design on the glazed tiles of Susa is also similar¹⁸⁷. The latter, however, is more directly related to a chain of lotus-palmettes on the borders of various fragments of felt appliqué from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁸⁸ (Fig. 39). Superimposed lotuses topped with palmettes represented in a continuous chain are characteristically Achaemenian and appear on the major facade reliefs of Persepolis and on the staircase at Susa¹⁸⁹. A simple palmette represented on a woman's head gear from the second Pazyryk kurgan¹⁹⁰ is comparable to the palmettes decorating the tops of the chain patterns on the staircase at Susa¹⁹¹.

A geometric pattern on a woven rug from the fifth Pazyryk kurgan shows a series of squares which contain rectangular figures of alternating size topped by a serrated pattern (Fig. 40). An identical pattern is depicted on the robes of the famous archers on the glazed tiles of

¹⁷⁹ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, pls. LXXVII–LXXIV.

¹⁸⁰ Pierre Amandry, "Toreutique Achéménide," *Antike Kunst* 2, 1959, pl. 22, 1.

¹⁸¹ Hall, *op. cit.* supra note 144, pls. XVIII, XXVI, XXIX.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

¹⁸³ *Kul'tura*, pls. XLIX, 3, L, 5, fig. 98.

¹⁸⁴ Hall, *op. cit.*, pls. IX, 3, on clothing; XVIII, on horse trapping; LVI, on pavement; LVII; CXII, jewelry; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁵ *Kul'tura*, pls. LXIX, 2; XC, 1; CIII.

¹⁸⁶ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, fig. 54. For a complete reproduction of the Pazyryk rug, see, Mongait, *op. cit.* supra note 89.

¹⁸⁷ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, fig. 43; Assyrian example, Perrot-Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldia and Assyria*, fig. 131.

¹⁸⁸ See also *Kul'tura*, pl. LXXXIX, 2.

¹⁸⁹ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, fig. 173.

¹⁹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCI, 3.

¹⁹¹ Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, fig. 180.

Susa¹⁹². Several patterns on the robes of the archers show openings on the rectangular figures in the shapes of doors and windows, which led Dieulafoy to regard them as a stylized representation of the citadel of Susa¹⁹³. A less stylized version of this *citadel motif* is perhaps the miniature bronze model city from Toprak Kale¹⁹⁴ which resembles the model cities offered as tribute to the Assyrian kings¹⁹⁵. If not a direct import, the Pazyryk motif must be a faithful copy of an Achaemenid textile pattern very similar to that represented on the robes of the archers at Susa.

The felt appliqué wall hanging representing a female figure with a flowering branch, approached by a man on horseback, is one of the better known objects from Pazyryk discussed by Rudenko¹⁹⁶. A restoration of the border scene shows a *fantastic combat scene* between a mythical bird and a feline-bodied, human-headed creature with wings and antlers (Fig. 41)¹⁹⁷. The bird as such, has no parallels in the Near East, yet the tip of its tail is decorated with the typically Near Eastern rosette which is repeated on the body of its adversary. The second monster is of special interest as an example of the fusion of the Near Eastern tradition with the decorative and animated art of Pazyryk. The abstract and colorful patterns on its tail, wings and antlers are indigenous features. The ends of the decorative intertwining patterns often resemble birds' heads, a feature encountered on the tattoo animals¹⁹⁸, and characteristic of Scythian art. The feline-bodied, human-headed monster itself, however, is a Near Eastern conception going back to the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia¹⁹⁹. In the first millennium B.C., Assyrian seals show sphinxes in combat with various adversaries or overpowered by Gilgamesh²⁰⁰. These figures have only the general idea of the sphinx in common with the Pazyryk monster. The effect of movement created by the half turned body of the latter has no parallels in Assyrian art, while the claw-like paws are also unusual. The long ears are characteristic of the Mesopotamian lamassu or sphinx, but the black moustache is not, nor is the Assyrian bare-headed sphinx ever shown with horns; even those wearing horned mitres are never given antlers.

There is nothing similar to this monster in the art of Persia, and the distant Assyrian parallels must therefore have reached Pazyryk through another intermediary. A hint at the location of this intermediary lies in the composition which is the central theme of the wall hanging. The seated figure with a serrated crown holding a flowering branch and approached by a rider may well represent the enthroned goddess Anahita receiving a visitor on horseback. This theme is obviously a copy of a foreign prototype as it contains numerous misunderstandings and misinterpretations which show the unfamiliarity of the artist with the subject matter²⁰¹. The inversion of the ear of the goddess, the anatomically impossible position of her arms, and the physiognomy of the rider all point to a foreign source²⁰². Representations of cult scenes from

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, fig. 114; *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran, Archéologie Susienne XXX*, Presses Universitaires de France 1947, fig. 26: 1-5.

¹⁹³ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 217.

¹⁹⁴ R.D. Barnett, "Excavations of the British Museum at Toprak Kale Near Van," *Iraq* XII, 1, 1950, pl. I.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5, fig. 3.

¹⁹⁶ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCV.

¹⁹⁷ V. Shilov, *Soobscheniia gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* IX, Leningrad 1956, p. 41.

¹⁹⁸ *Kul'tura*, figs. 181-184.

¹⁹⁹ G. Contenau, *Les Antiquités Orientales, Sumer, Babylonie, Elam*, Musée du Louvre, pls. 32-33; Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* IV, Paris 1947, p. 2184, fig. 1218.

²⁰⁰ W. Schwenzner, *op. cit.* supra note 43, pp. 64: 308; 63: 302, 305-307; 12: 48; 11: 47; 71: 35.

²⁰¹ O. Maenchen-Helfen, "Crenelated Mane and Scabbard Slide," *Central Asiatic Journal* II, 1957, p. 126.

²⁰² *Kul'tura*, p. 322.

the Oxus treasure associated with the goddess show strong Achaemenian influences which are absent in this piece. The hypothesis may be advanced that the Pazyryk pattern originates in an area which was influenced by Assyrian art and familiar with the cult of Anahita. Archaeological discoveries in the Caucasus and Kurdistan have confirmed the references made in Assyrian annals to cultures in those areas which were in contact with Assyria from the thirteenth century B.C.²⁰³ Strong Assyrian influence is apparent in the art of Urartu especially in the eighth century B.C.²⁰⁴ and in the objects from Ziwiyé in the ancient Mannai district. The gold pectoral from Ziwiyé, dated to about the seventh century B.C.²⁰⁵, is still strongly Assyrian in spite of the innumerable misunderstandings in the figures²⁰⁶. Furthermore, Anahita was worshipped in Armenia as well as in the Oxus region, and a district on the upper Euphrates was actually named after the goddess²⁰⁷.

A comparison between the Pazyryk fantastic sphinx (Fig. 41) and an Assyrian type half-human winged bull from the Ziwiyé pectoral (Fig. 42) significantly highlights the differences in approach to the same motif. The Ziwiyé pectoral as representative of Near Eastern art demonstrates the traditional figure in a stiff and formal pose. The tail and wings are symbolic and aim at the communication of the idea behind the motif. The Pazyryk figure, on the other hand, takes over certain features of the conventional theme which are reinterpreted by the local artist, who delights in the possibilities for creating decorative patterns offered by the motifs of the wings and tail. He changes the simple horn into a semi-abstract pattern of antlers which reinforces the pattern of the tail on the lower part of the composition, and gives a harmoniously decorative surface to the picture. The curving line of the torso and the turn of the body on its axis give an effect of movement and depth which offsets the purely one dimensional surface patterns. The result is a totally pleasing composition, if not for its symbolic and narrative quality, yet for the decorative effects of patterns and colors.

It is to be expected that classical and Near Eastern influences in the art of Pazyryk are in most cases of an indirect sort. It is, however, remarkable to find examples such as the lion procession on the Pazyryk fabric which so faithfully follow prototypes from distant Achaemenid Persia²⁰⁸. In most cases, one may suppose, Near Eastern motifs reached the Altai through Achaemenid Bactria, but there is some indication that another medium existed through which motifs of non-Achaemenian character were transferred to Pazyryk. The discovery of the Scythian type of bird heads at Karmir Blur²⁰⁹ is important evidence of contact between the Caucasus and the northern tribes. There is perhaps a later indication of such contact in objects from Pazyryk such as the fantastic combat scene and enthroned figure on the felt wall hanging from the fifth kurgan²¹⁰, certain animals in distorted positions²¹¹, and animals biting other animals which have parallels in the Lake Van region.

²⁰³ D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago 1926, I, p. 39; R.D. Barnett, *op. cit.* supra notes 134, 136, 139, 194.

²⁰⁴ B.B. Piotrovskii, *Karmir Blur, Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Armenii*, Erevan 1950-1955, I, figs. 40-41, II, fig. 19-20.

²⁰⁵ For the chronology see, Barnett, *op. cit.* supra note 134.

²⁰⁶ Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiyé*, p. 23.

²⁰⁷ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, p. 28.

²⁰⁸ *Kul'tura*, pl. CXVII, 1.

²⁰⁹ Barnett-Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia," *op. cit.* supra note 139, fig. 4.

²¹⁰ *Kul'tura*, pl. XCV.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XXV, 5-6.

Several significant conclusions follow from the foregoing discussion. Numerous floral motifs in Pazyryk are related to south Russian prototypes derived from Greek art, where floral patterns comprise the main theme of border decorations. That one group of Pazyryk bird griffins with fish-fin manes is derived from Greece through south Russia is of special importance for chronological reasons. It is mainly on the strength of Achaemenian elements that Rudenko dates the Pazyryk kurgans principally from the late fifth century B.C.²¹² The particular problem of the Pazyryk griffin in its relationship to south Russian and Greek examples of the fourth century B.C. was considered by Rudenko in his earlier book. There, however, he suggested an Assyrian prototype, perhaps through the medium of Urartu, rather than Classical sources²¹³. The possibility of Urartu as an important medium for the transmission of Near Eastern motifs to the Altai cannot be denied, but this hypothesis remains unverified by archaeological evidence. Excavations in the Van region have not yielded any griffins similar to those at Pazyryk, and Assyrian examples do not show the particular fish-fin feature of the mane. This feature is developed on Greek coins of the fifth century B.C. and is an established characteristic of Classical and south Russian griffins of the fourth century B.C. and later.

A broken Chinese mirror found in the sixth Pazyryk kurgan²¹⁴ corresponds in its decoration and diameter to a group of Chinese mirrors with "T" ornaments which Karlgren assigns to the fourth century B.C.²¹⁵, on general stylistic grounds. This possible correlation together with the Classical and south Russian analogies to the Pazyryk griffin with the fish-fin type mane which occurs in the earliest kurgans numbers 1 and 2, indicates the beginning of the fourth century B.C. as the terminus a quo for all the Pazyryk burials, the largest of which were constructed within a range of forty-eight years²¹⁶. The prevalence of Achaemenian influences and the existence of certain imports from Persia indicate on the other hand, that the Pazyryk burials should not be dated after the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., when the conflicts of Alexander with Central Asiatic tribes terminated the trade between the Oxus region and the north east²¹⁷.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 342–361.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 346–348. For some of the arguments against Rudenko's dating see, Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 357–361; illustrated in *Kul'tura*, pls. XXIX, 3; XXVI, 1; XX, 1.

²¹⁴ *Kul'tura*, fig. 85.

²¹⁵ B. Karlgren, "Huai and Han," *BMFEA* 13, 1941, pl. 16, C45. The diameters of the Chinese mirrors in the C45 group range from 12.5 to 9.2 cm. Group C46, very similar to the former, shows a range of 11 to 11.4 cm. The Pazyryk mirror has a diameter of 11.5 cm.

²¹⁶ See supra note 1.

²¹⁷ Kiselev, *op. cit.* supra note 79, pp. 357–361.



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A Herodotean Echo in Pompeian Art?*

GUITTY AZARPAY LAWS

PLATES 21-22

The curious association of semi-human semi-vegetal figures with griffins in Italian art of the first century B.C. to the first century A.D. has led to various, sometimes contradictory, speculations on the origin and meaning of this theme. Explanations of such figures have ranged all the way from making them Arimaspians who have suffered vegetal metamorphosis to identifying them with the Great Goddess of Vegetation in her various guises. Complications also result from the fact that both male and female figures, and figures whose sex is ambiguous, are so represented. In such a confused and poorly defined situation, the problem of correct identification might appear to be all but hopeless. Nevertheless, in the light of certain new observations to be offered here, it may be possible to evaluate the proposals already advanced, to clarify the nature of the figures in question, and to explain in some measure the great popularity of this theme in Hellenistic and Italian art.

The frequent occurrence of semi-vegetal Erotes together with griffins in Italian art of the first century B.C. and later was first remarked upon by Furtwängler,¹ who concluded that such compositions were Roman substitutes for the scenes of legendary conflict between griffins and Arimaspians or Amazons, widely used in Greek art from the end of the fifth century B.C. A semi-vegetal male figure represented holding the horns of lion-griffins on a Hellenistic acroterion in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad is likewise identified as an Arimaspians by Hans Moebius, who connects this motif with a group of south Russian female figures

with zoomorphic and vegetal features.² In opposition to this view Ludwig Curtius interprets the semi-vegetal male figures as representations of Sabazius,³ the male counterpart of the goddess of fertility and vegetation, who, according to this author, may be represented not with vegetal "feet" but with various fertility symbols growing from the waist of the figure.⁴ In a study of the mother goddess cult in south Russia, Rostovtsev identified the female torso with snake and griffin attributes as the viper-woman mother of the Scythian race as described by Herodotus,⁵ but a connection between the viper-woman and the semi-vegetal female figures is not made by Rostovtsev. Curtius rejects the identification made by Rostovtsev, and believes the snake and griffin attributes to be symbolic of the "Tendrill Goddess" in one of her many manifestations.⁶ Elizabeth Jastrow adds the female head surrounded with tendrils to the repertory of the manifestations of this "Divine Mother of the organic world."⁷ Sprouting heads and human figures in any way represented in a composition including scrolls are studied by Toynbee and Ward Perkins, who believe that the winged foliate-skirted figure, as it appears in the architectural decoration of the temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, represents the Ionian Artemis, a Hellenized version of the "Great Goddess."⁸ In a comprehensive study on local Bosporan motifs, A. P. Ivanova concludes that the "Tendrill Goddess" suffered a peculiar transformation in the art of the Bosporan region, where the figure acquired snake and griffin attributes together with, or instead of, the foliage

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¹ Adolf Furtwängler, in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1886-90) 1:2, 1773, "Gryps."

² Hans Moebius, "Eine dreiseitige Basis in Athen," *AM* 51

(1926) 121, pl. 19.

³ Ludwig Curtius, "Sardanapal," *Jdl* 43 (1928) 292.

⁴ Ludwig Curtius, "Republikanisches Pilasterkapitell in Rom," *RM* 49 (1934) 226.

⁵ M. Rostovtsev, "Le culte de la grande Déesse dans la Russie méridionale," *REG* 32 (1919) 475-76.

⁶ Ludwig Curtius, "Republikanisches Pilasterkapitell in Rom," *RM* 49 (1934) 226-27.

⁷ Elizabeth Jastrow, "Two Terracotta Reliefs in American Museums," *AJA* 50 (1946) 73.

⁸ J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *BSR* 18 (1950) 6, pl. 11, 2.

below her waist.⁹ She, furthermore, agrees with Rostovtsev's identification of this south Russian female figure with snake and griffin attributes as the Scythian tribal mother, the south Russian mother goddess who appears in other guises in the later art of that region.¹⁰

That the semi-vegetal female figure represents a certain fertility and vegetal goddess is agreed upon in most of the studies cited above. Opinions differ, however, as to the south Russian or Scythian associations and origin of the figure. A study of the motif is here necessary in the investigation of the problem.¹¹

In Pompeian and Roman wall paintings of the Second to the Fourth Styles, a variety of human torsos with vegetal growths below the waist appear frequently in border scenes and minor decorative compositions. A large number of these figures have torsos of young Erotes,¹² others are shown with winged or wingless male torsos,¹³ while yet another group is characterized by a generally winged frontally represented female torso with extended arms which grasp the foliage growing symmetrically from her waist.¹⁴ Characteristically Italian are the torsos of Erotes which are often represented tending or alongside of griffins; a theme which Furtwängler interpreted as a substitution for the scenes of conflict between Arimaspians and griffins of Greek art.¹⁵ One may question the sudden and unprecedented anatomical changes of the Arimaspians and the inappropriately friendly gestures of these age-old adversaries. Furthermore, the familiarity of the Italian artists with the legend of this

mythological conflict is attested by at least one example of Pompeian wall painting of the Second Style from the Villa dei Misteri.¹⁶ It is not likely that Arimaspians and Erotes would become confused. The play of fancy in Italian representations of Erotes is so rich and varied that one need not feel called upon to find a specific meaning in each case. On the other hand, these Erotes may well be youthful versions of the semi-vegetal male figures which are equally widespread in Italian wall painting of the same period, with prototypes going back to the Hellenistic period and the fourth century B.C. in Greece.¹⁷ The marble acroterion in Leningrad, dated around the third century B.C. by Moebius,¹⁸ shows the semi-vegetal male figure with extended arms holding the horns of lion-griffins which are represented in profile flanking the figure. The various Roman copies of the Hellenistic marble throne¹⁹ repeat the same motif, with the difference that the male figure holds the ends of the tendrils growing from his acanthus skirt. Moebius' statement that the Leningrad acroterion depicts an Arimasian from south Russia, "the home of griffins and Arimaspians" is perhaps too hasty.²⁰ Neither is the place of origin of the Leningrad acroterion known, nor has this piece any parallels in south Russia. The prototype for this piece should rather be sought in Greece proper where the original of the marble thrones was made. Possibly related to this motif is a figure depicted several times on an early fourth-century B.C. bronze plaque from Olynthos²¹ (pl. 21, fig. 1). As in the Leningrad acroterion and the Roman thrones, the figure

⁹ A. P. Ivanova, "Mestnie motivi v dekorativnoi skulpture Bospora," *Sovetskaiia Arkheologia* 15 (1951) 197.

¹⁰ *ibid.* 198-203.

¹¹ Figures seated or hovering around acanthus leaves and scrolls such as those on the gold diadems from Kyme in Aeolis (F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewelry, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum* [London 1911] nos. 1611-14) are excluded from this study.

¹² Emily L. Wadsworth, "Stucco Reliefs," *MAAR* 4 (1924) pl. iv, 2; F. Niccolini, *Le Case ed i Monumenti di Pompei, disegnati e descritti* (Naples 1854-96) III (I) pl. 3; IV (I) pl. 14; IV (II) pl. 12; V (I) pls. 2-3; P. Ducati, *L'Arte in Roma dalle Origini al Sec VIII* (Edit. Licino Cappelli, Bologna 1938) pl. 117; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School, a Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge University Press 1934) pl. 46, 1.

¹³ Niccolini, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 12) I (I) pl. 6; II (II) pl. 4; IV (II) pl. 20.

¹⁴ Amedeo Maiuri, *Le Casa del Menandro I* (Libreria dello Stato 1932) fig. 80; Niccolini, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 12) I (I) pl. 6; II (II) pl. 21, among others.

¹⁵ Furtwängler, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 1).

¹⁶ H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration vom*

zweiten bis zum vierten Stil (Hague 1938) fig. 20, C.

¹⁷ H. Moebius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 2).

¹⁸ H. Moebius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 2) 120-21, pl. 19, top.

¹⁹ H. Moebius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 2) 117-21; Curtius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 3) 291, fig. 14; E. Langlotz, "Dionysos," *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 179, fig. 17; Gisela M. A. Richter, "The Marble Thrones on the Akropolis and its Replicas," *AJA* 58 (1954) 275-76, pls. 47-50, considers the throne in Athens not as the Greek fourth century B.C. original, but, like the other thrones, a Roman copy of a Greek original of the Hellenistic period.

²⁰ H. Moebius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 2) 121; Berta Segall, "Sculpture from Arabia Felix," *AJA* 59 (1955) 212, has accepted Moebius' conjectural statement and refers to the figure as a god from south Russia.

²¹ David M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus* (Baltimore 1941) X, pl. 5, 16 and fig. 6. Robinson, p. 33, points out that the piece cannot be later than the early fourth century B.C. It might be added that the figures cannot be earlier than that date either, since the griffin protomai show the dentated mane which becomes a customary feature in Greek art of the fourth century B.C. and later.

from Olynthos represents a bearded and winged male torso with extended arms which in this case grasp the horns of lion-griffin protomai that grow instead of tendrils from the acanthus skirt of the figure. Features such as the palmette, griffin manes and acanthus skirt²² show that, whatever the origin of the figure,²³ it is brought into the repertory of Greek art already at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. and is produced by Greek artists for Greek patrons.

The motif of the semi-vegetal female figure as it appears in Italian wall paintings of the Second through the Fourth Styles has, perhaps more faithfully than its male counterpart, preserved its Hellenistic features (pl. 21, fig. 2). The generally frontal winged female torso with extended arms grasping the symmetrically arranged foliage which emanates from her leafy skirt may be found on many architectural decorations, particularly from Asia Minor, of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²⁴ The earliest examples of such figures may be seen in the nereid-like figures on the mosaic floor of House B v 1, in Olynthos, dated by Robinson in the late fifth or the first decade of the fourth century B.C.²⁵ (pl. 21, fig. 3). This figure differs in one essential point from the typical Hellenistic and early Italian examples in that the arms do not control the foliage of her skirt, but are raised above her head in an Atlas-like posture, as is also the

case on the gold dish of Greek workmanship from Chertomlyk²⁶ (pl. 22, fig. 4), the tomb of Myra in Lycia²⁷ and a capital from Salamis in Cyprus, now in the British Museum.²⁸

The Greek prototype, as exemplified by the Olynthos mosaic, undergoes certain drastic changes in south Russia, where it is widely used till the end of the second century A.D.²⁹ Several gold plaques from Panticapeum and Chersonnesus³⁰ show a frontal female figure wearing a kalathos on her head, often represented with extended arms which grasp various objects or snake heads which curl up antithetically from beneath the realistic skirt of the figure. Other gold plaques from Chersonnesus³¹ and the Taman region³² represent the same draped female figure grasping the ends of two broad snake-like scrolls which grow instead of feet from below her realistic skirt.³³ A few of these are completely armless. These figures are directly related to a more elaborate version on a horse's frontlet from Tsymbalka, probably of Greek workmanship, of the late fourth century B.C. (pl. 22, fig. 5). In her extended arms she grasps the horns of lion-griffin heads which grow from snake bodies directly below the long robe of the figure. Bird-griffin heads, palmettes and snakes in succession grow from her skirt, which is balanced by the large palmette crown of the figure at the top of the composition. Curtius' association of this piece with

²² Robinson, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 21) 30-39, fig. 6.

²³ Curtius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 3), believes the semi-vegetal male figures to represent Sabazius; S. Langlotz, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 19) 179-81, thinks it Dionysos; F. Von Lorentz, "ΒΑΡΒΑΡΩΝ ΤΦΑΣΜΑΤΑ," *RM* 52 (1937) 176-80, thinks the origin to be Persian.

²⁴ Franz Winter, *Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs, Altertümer von Pergamon* (Berlin 1908) VII (II) fig. 221; C. Humann, J. Kohte, C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Meander* 1891-93 (Berlin 1904) figs. 57, 69; E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA* 61 (1957) pl. 86, 15-16, floor mosaic from Palatitsa in Macedonia; comprehensive lists of this motif in Hellenistic art are given in the following articles: Robinson, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 21) 33, note 156; J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 8); A. P. Ivanova, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 9).

²⁵ Robinson, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 21) V, pl. vi; date of this house given in *ibid.* VIII (1938) 131. Two gold plaques dated by F. H. Marshall (*Catalogue of Jewelry, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* [London 1911] nos. 1265-66) in the seventh century B.C. show female heads terminating in superimposed palmettes. Extensions of the central palmettes terminate in double lion or griffin heads which flank the head. These pieces, which are dated perhaps too early by Marshall, and other sprouting heads of this type, will not be included in this study, and deserve an independent treatment. A relief of the Nabataean Atargatis as goddess of fruits and foliage from the temple at Kh. et-Tannur shows

an interesting first-century version of possibly the same motif, Nelson Glueck, "A Newly Discovered Nabataean Temple of Atargatis and Haddad at Khirbet et-Tannur, Transjordan," *AJA* 41 (1934) figs. 14-15.

²⁶ A. P. Mantzevich, "K voprosu o torevtike v Skiskii epokhi," *VDI* 2 (1949) p. 4, no. 2, fourth to third century B.C.

²⁷ Charles Fellows, *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* (London 1841) pl. 25.

²⁸ Charles Picard, "Nouvelles et Correspondance" *RA* 40 (1952) 81, fig. 3.

²⁹ Ivanova, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 9) 189-94, figs. 1, 5.

³⁰ *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (reedit. S. Reinach, Paris 1892) pls. 20:8, 76:8 (stucco); A. Mantzewitsch, *Ein Grabfund aus Chersonnes* (Leningrad 1921-1935) pl. 1, 4; M. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford 1922) pl. 18, 4; *Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique (Otkr' imperatorskoi arkheologicheskoi kommissii, henceforth OAK)* (St. Petersburg) for 1893, p. 4, figs. 1-3.

³¹ OAK for 1893, 4, no. 2.

³² OAK for 1864, pls. 11:30, 11:45; 1866, pl. 1:37 (the last is an ivory decoration from a wooden sarcophagus of the end of the fourth or the third century B.C. The extended arms of the figure probably grasped the ends of the scrolls on either side of the figure).

³³ OAK for 1893, p. 4, no. 2, is one that does not have the realistic skirt, but instead successive scrolls growing from the waist.

the "goddess between the tendrils"³⁴ and his rejection of Rostovtsev's identification³⁵ of the figure as the viper-woman mother of the Scythian race as described by Herodotus and Diodorus,³⁶ seems questionable for the following reasons. Female figures with snake terminals are found almost exclusively in south Russian sites³⁷ and in some cases are thought to represent personifications of Panticapeum.³⁸ Furthermore, the consistent association of the figure with griffins and snakes to the exclusion of other animals³⁹ would be inexplicable in terms of a "tendrill goddess," but provides an accumulation of associations with the Scythians and their tribal mother.

A closer study of both Herodotus and Scythian art reveals, however, that the viper-woman motif as it appears in south Russia is not purely Scythian, either in meaning or in motif. The story of the origin of the Scythian race from the union of Herakles and a snake-woman is one of three versions given by Herodotus. The snake-woman is absent in the purely Scythian and the purely Greek versions.⁴⁰ According to Herodotus the colorful story of the snake-woman circulated *only* among the Greeks of the Pontus.⁴¹ It is curious also that the motif of the viper-woman is absent in Scythian art beyond the Pontus region and appears in the art of the northern shore of the Black Sea only in the fourth century B.C. and later. Scythian motifs were sometimes adopted by Greeks of the Pontus who made objects for Scythian use. More often, however, the Greek craftsmen represented Greek motifs and subjects which they associated with their semi-nomadic customers. It seems, therefore, not unlikely that the numerous half-woman half-snake representations found in Scythian tombs of the fourth and third centuries B.C. are Pontic Greek portrayals of what they thought to be the tribal

mother of the Scythians. The griffins are additional associations with the Scythians and their Potnia Theron. The nereid-like semi-vegetal female figure with raised arms known in Greek art from the end of the fifth century B.C. and later (pl. 21, fig. 3; pl. 22, fig. 4) was transformed by the Pontic artist to create a form which he directly associated with his immediate customers in the fourth and third centuries B.C. With the arrival of new patrons, the Sarmatians, the Pontic artist of the late third century B.C. and later no longer repeats exactly the motif which he associated with the Scythians but reverts to the older semi-vegetal figure which had continued to exist elsewhere in the Greek world. The exclusive association of the figure with griffins and the extended arms grasping the foliage growth from her waist are possibly lingering elements from the metamorphosis of the figure in south Russia.

That these elements find a wide distribution in the Hellenistic world is evidence, if only in a small detail, of the general infiltration of eastern elements into Greece during the Peloponnesian wars, when Attica, more than before, concentrated on her eastern contacts. The appearance of this motif in Italy, first in the minor crafts and wall paintings, and later in the architectural decoration, points also to a foreign source of the motif, which more or less adheres to Hellenistic prototypes in late Republican and early Imperial art, but is completely transformed and reinterpreted in the art of the late Empire.⁴²

It is not the intention of this paper to make a general survey of the Hellenistic origins of the semi-vegetal female figure in Pompeian and Roman art, for this has already been accomplished in other studies. An attempt is here made to present specific and observable features, which are a spontaneous and unique Pontic development in connection with

³⁴ I. Tolstoi and N. Kondakov, *Russkiiia drevnosti* (S. Petersburg 1889) fig. 99. The winged animal-headed torso terminating in vegetal and griffin growths at the waist, which Curtius (*op.cit.* supra, n. 4, p. 226, fig. 4) believes to be a derivative of the "Tendrill Goddess" motif, is probably a later distortion of the snake-woman motif from south Russia. A similar motif in terracotta relief of the first century A.D. from Chersonnesus shows an animal- (ox?) headed figure, whose realistic legs terminate in antithetic scrolls grasped in the extended arms of the figure (N.V. Piatishcheva, "Skifi i Khersones," *Istoriia i arkhheologiia drevnego Kryma* [Kiev 1957] 262, fig. 7).

³⁵ Curtius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 4) 227.

³⁶ Herodotus 4.8-10; Diodorus 2.43.

³⁷ Curtius, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 4) 228, note 4, mentions an Etruscan figure with human legs but with snake and acanthus

leaves growing from the hips.

³⁸ *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 30) pl. 20, 8, pp. 145-46.

³⁹ Berta Segall, "Sculpture from Arabia Felix," *AJA* 59 (1955) 212, regards the semi-vegetal female figure on the capital with bull protome, as a goddess ruling over bulls (*RA* 40 [1952] 81, fig. 3). Such bull capitals are well known from Persepolis and are not necessarily connected with the female figure. There is no indication of any relationship between the two motifs in this capital.

⁴⁰ Herodotus 4.5-6, 11-12.

⁴¹ Herodotus 4.8-10.

⁴² Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *op.cit.* (supra, n. 8), give a full account of the development of this motif and other figures connected with scrolls in the periods of the Republic through the late Empire.

this motif, that eventually enter the repertory of Hellenistic art elsewhere in the classical world and in Italy. These features can be observed in the change in the position of the arms of the figure from the Atlas-like pose with upraised arms as in the Olynthos mosaic (pl. 21, fig. 3), to the Potnia Theron attitude of the south Russian female torsos which often grasp snake or griffin heads which grow from the waist of the figures. The application of this Gilgamesh or Potnia Theron posture to the Hellenistic semi-vegetal figure (pl. 22, fig. 6) together with the frequent association of these figures with griffins to the exclusion of other animals suggests south Russian "viper-woman" prototypes of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Due to the ab-

sence of viper-woman representations analogous to the south Russian examples in both Greek and Scythian art outside the Pontus region, it may be assumed, with some degree of certainty, that these are Pontic Greek creations portraying a being which the artists associated with their Scythian customers. This assumption may be corroborated by Herodotus' reference to the story which circulated among the Greeks of the Pontus, concerning the birth of the Scythians from a part-woman-part-snake being who is absent in the purely Greek and Scythian versions of the story as related by the historian.

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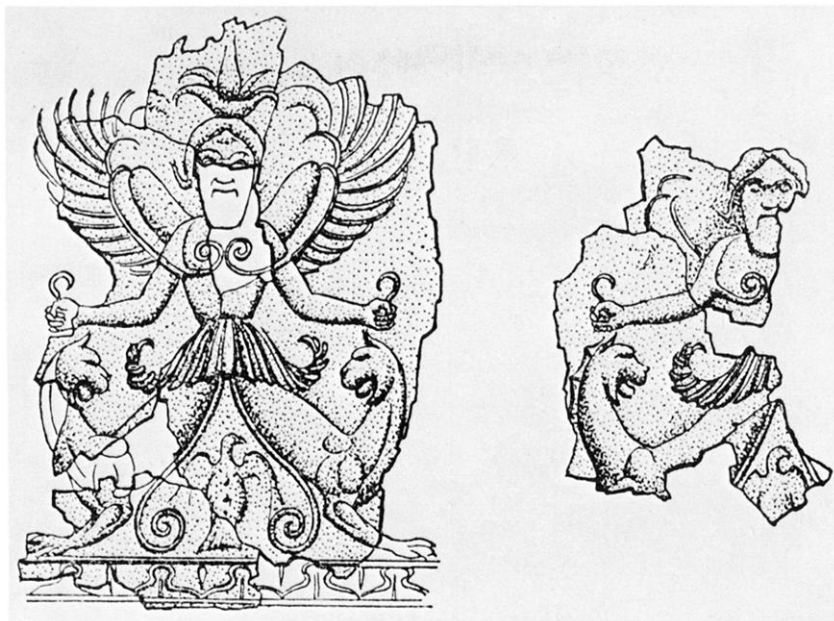


FIG. 1. Bronze plaque from Olynthos (Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* X, fig. 6, detail)



FIG. 2. Fresco in Casa del Menandro, Pompeii (courtesy Naples National Museum)

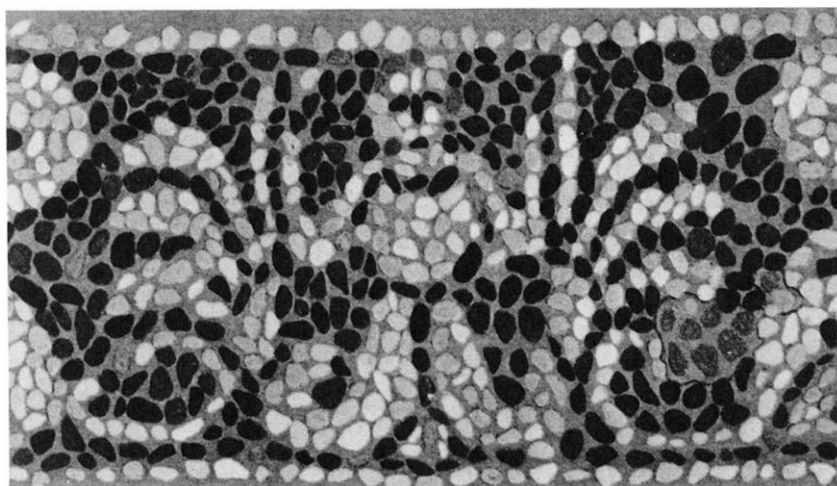


FIG. 3. Mosaic from Olynthos (Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos* V, pl. vi, detail)

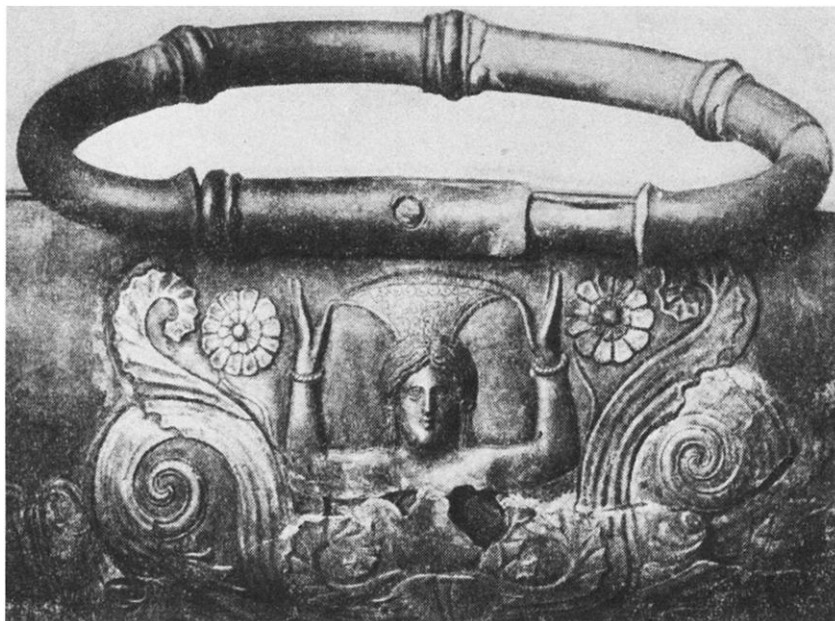


FIG. 4. Gold dish from Chertomlyk (Mantzevich, *VDI* 2[1949] fig. 2)



FIG. 5. Horse's frontlet from Tsybalka (courtesy Hermitage Museum, Leningrad)



FIG. 6. Gold headdress (courtesy Trustees of British Museum, from Toynbee and Ward Perkins, *BSR* 18, pl. 11, 1, detail)

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GUITTY AZARPAY

TWO URARTIAN BOOT-SHAPED VESSELS

Extensive excavations at *Karmir-blur* (ancient Teishebaini), conducted by the joint expeditions of the Hermitage and the Armenian branch of the Akademii Nauk SSR, headed by Professor B.B. Piotrovskii, in a series of continuous efforts since 1945, have revealed many aspects of the history of this important Urartian center in Transcaucasia¹.

¹ The preliminary report of the excavations at Karmir-blur appeared in B.B. Piotrovskii, *Karmir-blur I, Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Armenii, iz. Akad. nauk Armianskoi SSR*, Erevan 1950. An English summary of this report is provided by R.D. Barnett and W. Watson, "Russian Excavations in Armenia", *Iraq* XIV: 2, 1952, pp. 132-147.

The results of the excavations conducted at Karmir-blur during 1949-1953, appeared in two reports from the same series by B.B. Piotrovskii, *Karmir-blur II, III*, Erevan 1952, 1955. In 1949-1950 (*Karmir-blur II*), two large magazines (nos. 25, 28), were cleared on the ground floor of the citadel. These were provided with large storage jars with a capacity of 150 thousand liters of wine. Some of the jars still contained grain, others were filled with metal objects and were covered with bronze shields. Although Teishebaini was founded in the second period of the Urartian kingdom (VII to the beginning of VI century B.C.), some of the objects found here bore inscriptions of Urartian kings of the VIII century B.C. Among such finds were 97 bronze bowls with inscriptions of Menua, Argishti I, Sarduri II and Rusa I. Two helmets of Sarduri II and Argishti I bore dedications to the god Haldi and were provided with different hieroglyphic signs. Three bronze quiver cases decorated with representations of Urartian war chariots and riders, and three large decorated shields (with inscriptions of Argishti I and Rusa I), were also among the finds. Piotrovskii believes that these objects were brought to Teishebaini from other Urartian centers such as Argishtihnili (on the Armavir hill). One bronze shield with the inscription of Argishti, son of Menua, belonged to the city of *Irpuni* (*Erebuni*, Arin-berd), whence it had been brought to Teishebaini. Foreign relations and contacts were suggested by articles from Assyria (cylinder seals, stone beads, metal articles), Egypt (amulet with hieroglyphics), Asia Minor and the Mediterranean world (stone seals, gold earrings). Scythian horse gear, arrow-heads, beads and bone articles indicated the presence of Scythians in the area. Piotrovskii sees in the Scythian finds at Karmir-blur an indication of Scytho-Cimmerian and Urartian cooperation at the end of the VII century B.C. (for a different interpretation, see T. Sulimirski, "Scythian Antiquities in Western Asia," *Artibus Asiae* XVII, 2:4, 1954, p. 313).

The expedition conducted in 1951-1953 (*Karmir-blur III*) uncovered other magazines containing a large number of bronze and iron articles. Among the finds were a helmet and several shields of Argishti I (rooms nos. 34, A, 36) and shields of Sarduri II (rooms nos. 33, A, 38). The shields were decorated with circular zones of striding bulls and lions. The bronze scale armour of Argishti I (Room no. 36), and six quiver cases filled with bronze and iron arrows showed also inscriptions of the early kings (Argishti I, Sardur II). Although these arrow-heads were of the flat Urartian type, Piotrovskii brings attention to the presence also of Scythian arrow-heads inside the storage chambers as well as those inbedded in the walls of the citadel. Other finds consisted of the sword of Argishti I, which was provided with a bronze handle similar to examples from the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, and bronze horse gear of Menua. Stamp and cylinder seals and a variety of beads were among the finds of this season. The last articles in the report deal with the remains of wood and textiles from Karmir-blur.

The architectural remains of Teishebaini are presented in a separate volume by K. L. Oganesian (*Karmir-blur IV*). Plans of the citadel on the hill at Karmir-blur are clarified with drawings and reconstructions of the various parts of this single building complex. The domestic quarters which were built at the foot of the hill along a main street, are also discussed. These houses are constructed entirely of stone, used without mortar in the Urartian manner, and each house furnished two lodgings with a single roof and a court. Stone bases for columns suggest the existence of wooden columns for the support of the roof. The construction of the citadel differed from that of the domestic quarters in the use of mud bricks for the upper parts of the walls which were set on stone foundations. The magazines, which were built on the ground floor, were supplied with thick central pillars of brick for the support of the upper story, where the rooms of state were presumably located. Fragments of paintings indicate that some of the rooms of the upper story were decorated with wall paintings. The citadel was provided with an irregular court (with two gates) adjacent to the south-western part of the

The citadel of Teishebaini with its surrounding city was founded by Rusa II, son of Argišti, during the middle of the seventh century B.C., and it flourished down to the end of the Urartian kingdom at the beginning of the VI century B.C.

Among the more unusual articles found at Karmir-blur in 1959 are certain vessels which are shaped in the form of a boot with flaring lip and slightly upturned toe, now in the Historical Museum of Armenia SSR, at Erevan². One of these vessels (Fig. 1) is painted partially in white, with rust-colored geometric decoration in the form of crosshatching, zig-zags and circles which are distributed in zones on the toe, around the ankle and up the front of the boot, perhaps in imitation of seams and shoe laces. The general appearance of the painted decoration resembles Phrygian painted pottery of the Ripe Style (Phase II), dated by Akurgal to the first quarter of the seventh century B.C., which is not an unlikely date for the Urartian vessel³. A second vessel from Karmir-blur (Fig. 2), shaped also in the form of a boot, is monochrome grey-black, and it is decorated with small incised triangles which are arranged in zones along the seams and laces of the boot as in the first vessel. The method of decoration by means of grooves, however, is characteristic for Transcaucasian pottery, in which the incised grooves are often inlaid with white paste.

This type of high laced boot with slightly upturned toe is represented in Assyrian reliefs as the usual footwear of the peoples of Manna and Media⁴, areas where boot-shaped vessels of the type discovered at Karmir-blur have their widest distribution in Western Asia. A clay vessel with flaring lip and upturned toe, from Ziwiye (in ancient Mannaeen territory) and now in the Archaeological Museum at Teheran (Fig. 3), with the exception of similar surface incisions, appears to have a rather close resemblance to the Urartian vessel (Fig. 2) with which it is probably contemporary (ca. VIII–VII century B.C.). This comparison is interesting in view of other parallels in the pottery from Ziwiye and that of Transcaucasia⁵. The site of Ziwiye, located near Sakkiz in Kurdistan, north-western Iran, besides being the burial place of the heterogeneous “Ziwiye Treasure”, is marked by a mountain citadel overlooking the settlement which has yielded a pottery which shares similarities with pottery from other Mannaeen centers, in particular from the site of Hasanlu⁶.

building complex. The main gate was constructed with flanking towers superimposed with a cornice of recessed basalt slabs.

Piotrovskii's later book on Urartu (*Vanskoe tsarstvo (Urartu)*, Moskva 1959) includes a discussion of the results of the excavations at Karmir-blur in terms of Urartian remains from other sites. The text is fully documented with historical references and it incorporates evidence from Urartian inscriptions. In his most recent book on the art of Urartu (*Iskusstvo Urartu VIII–VI vv do n.e.*, Leningrad 1962), Piotrovskii presents a number of new discoveries made at Karmir-blur in 1959, among which may be mentioned two clay boot shaped vessels. For a summary of some of this material, see E. Porada, “Orientalists Meet in Moscow”, *Archaeology* 13:4, 1960, pp. 283–284.

² I am grateful to Professor B.B. Piotrovskii for the illustrations of the two vessels shown here. See B.B. Piotrovskii, *Iskusstvo Urartu VIII–VI vv do n.e.*, Leningrad 1962, pls. XXVIII–XXIX, pp. 109–110. I wish also to thank Mr. L. T. Giuzalian, Hermitage Museum.

³ E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst*, Ankara 1955, pl. 26–27.

⁴ I. M. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Midii ot drevneishikh vremen do kontsa IV veka do n.e.*, Moskva-Leningrad 1956, figs. 22, 35, 38, R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia*, Batchworth Press 1959, pls. 122–123. Upturned boots are worn usually by gods in the Neo-Hittite reliefs, but mortals also wear them, see H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Penguin Books, second impression 1958, pls. 160 (warrior from Zin-cirli), 164 (king Urpalla of Tyana from Ivriz).

⁵ R. Dyson, *Expedition, The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* 5:2, 1963, p. 35, F. Hančar, “Die bemalte Keramik Transkaukasiens im Lichte neuer Funde”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIV Heft 5–6, 1944, pp. 284–298.

⁶ Dyson, *Expedition, op. cit.*; A. Godard, *Le Trésor de Ziwiye* (Kurdistan), Haarlem 1950; R. Ghirshman, “Notes iranniennes

A terra-cotta vessel from *Hasanlu* (south of Lake Urmia), now in the Archaeological Museum at Teheran (Fig. 4), shows two boots which join together above the ankle to form a single flaring lip. Apart from the unusual double boot effect, this vessel is a close relative of those from Ziwiye and Karmir-blur, and was found within a context which places it ca. VIII century B.C.⁷

Numerous boot vessels are known from various sites in Transcaucasia, although not within the permanent confines of the Urartian kingdom. The burials at *Mingeçaur* on the right bank of the Kura river in Azarbaijan SSR, contained a relatively large number of such vessels analysed by G. I. Ione in a comparative study with other Transcaucasian sites⁸. The Mingeçaur collection of boot vessels falls into four distinct types. The first is characterised by a vessel shaped in the form of a realistic soft high boot, without a heel and with a more or less upturned toe (Fig. 5). This vessel is distinguished by the thickness of the modelling of the clay, the round single handle placed high on one side of the stem, and its exterior decoration. The surface decoration consists of rudimentary animal and geometric designs formed by series of dots and herring-bone patterns, with traces of white paste inlaid in the grooves of the incisions⁹. The second type of Mingeçaur boot vessel is represented by only one fragmentary example of a short boot with an upturned toe¹⁰. This vessel differs from the first type in the shortness of the stem, inferred from the low placement of the handle. The surface decoration is placed across the toe in bands of parallel herring-bone patterns and dots inlaid with white paste as in the first group.

A fragmentary boot vessel with a somewhat upturned toe represents the third type from

IV, le Trésor de Sakkiz, les origines de l'art Mède et les bronzes du Luristan", *Artibus Asiae* XVIII, 1950, pp. 180–206; R. D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye", *Iraq* XVIII: 2, 1956, pp. 111–116; C. K. Wilkinson, "More Details on Ziwiye", *Iraq* XXII, 1960, pp. 213–220; R. Ghirshman, "Une hache votive au nom du roi élamite Šilhak-Inšušinak (ca. 1165–1151)" *Iraq* XXII, 1960, pp. 210–212.

⁷ The Hasanlu vessel was found by the Iranian Archaeological Mission at Hasanlu in 1947. It was found together with the long spouted vessels characteristic of Sialk B and Khorvine, dated, ca. VIII century B.C. For this information I wish to thank Mrs. Selma Moghadam, Library of the Archaeological Museum, Teheran. The grey ware phase characterized by spouted jars, appears at Hasanlu in the ninth century B.C., confirmed by radiocarbon tests (R. H. Dyson, "Hasanlu and Early Iran", *Archaeology* 13: 2, 1960, pp. 126–9). Mr. Dyson has associated this ware with the "Button Base Phase" of the preceding level at Hasanlu, while the latter phase is linked with the painted button-base vases of late Hurrian strata (Tell Billa III).

⁸ G. I. Ione, "Gliniane sosudy-sapozhki is Mingeçaura", *Material'naia kul'tura Azerbaidžana III, Akademiia nauk Azerbaidžanskoi SSR, Inst. istorii i filosofii*, Baku 1953, pp. 36–60. This article is primarily concerned with a number of ceramic vessels shaped in the form of a boot, provided with a handle, and known as "Caucasian" type, from Mingeçaur, Azarbaijan SSR. The author brings attention to analogous finds from other sites in the Caucasus. The Mingeçaur examples are placed in four major categories which generally correspond with similar finds made at the Kyzyl-Vank monastery in 1926, and others in the same vicinity. The decoration of these vessels was arranged along the seams and laces of the boots, consisting of lines and grooves often filled with inlay. Making use of the material provided in the dissertation of A. A. Iessen on this subject, the author lists examples of this motif from various museums in the Soviet Union. The grave inventory which accompanied these vessels is next discussed. Among these are mentioned two-sided flat arrow-heads of Transcaucasian type, flat small knives with curved ends, cast bronze daggers with open-work handles. In the course of a chronological discussion of these finds, the Mingeçaur and Kyzyl-Vank groups are assigned to two major periods. One group belonging to the XI–IX century B.C., and the other to the IX–VIII century B.C., which corresponds with the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age of the area. Examples of boot vessels from souther Caucasus and amulets are dated to the later periods down to the III century B.C.

The author brings attention to the apparent concentration of these vessels in Transcaucasia and the Caucasus at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., and considers the wider distribution of this motif, in Asia Minor, Greece, northern Italy and central Europe, to be a reflection of local styles. In conclusion various possible meanings of this type of vessel are considered, and in view of its appearance usually in graves, it is believed to have significance for the next life of the deceased.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–42, pls. III: 8–10, IV.

Mingechaur¹¹. This example is modelled more schematically, and its contours are emphasized by surface lines and dots inlaid with white paste. The stem of the vessel consists of vertical parallel ridges of fluting modelled in clay. This feature also characterises the fourth type of Mingechaur vessels¹², shown in a reconstruction based on several fragmentary vessels (Fig. 6). This long stemmed boot vessel was lifted by means of a handle placed on one side of the rim, and is distinguished by its decoration of modelled horizontal ridges. On the basis of the study of the context of the tombs, the first two types of Mingechaur vessels are dated to the XI–IX century B. C., while the last two types, which are more stylized, are dated to the IX–VIII century B. C.¹³. The use of the side handle and the absence of the flared rim and upturned toe¹⁴ distinguish these vessels from those found at Karmir-blur, Ziwiye and Hasanlu (Figs. 1–4), yet the use of the white paste inlay may have been common to most of these. It is clear, however, that the Mingechaur boot vessels Types I–II are the earliest in the whole group.

A number of similar vessels, but of coarser quality than the Mingechaur examples, are known from tombs in the vicinity of the *Kyzyl-Vank* monastery at Nakhchevan ASSR. These belong likewise to the Bronze Age and the Iron Age of Transcaucasia, and date chiefly from the VIII–VII century B. C.¹⁵.

In view of the impracticality of such boot shapes as drinking vessels¹⁶ and their general association with tomb furnishings, distributed from Transcaucasia to the northern part of the Zagros mountains, one is led to seek a special meaning in this particular type of object, a meaning which was understood in the areas of its distribution. This assumption seems to be supported by the existence of several small amulets shaped in precisely the same manner as the boot vessels¹⁷. The University of Pennsylvania Museum possesses two bronze boot-shaped amulets from *Luristan* (Fig. 7), the provenience of which is attested by the interesting addition of a stylized human head on the upper part of the boot¹⁸. A similar boot was found in *Hamadan*, ancient Median territory¹⁹, and the same shape reappears as terminals of the legs of a bronze tripod stand from Luristan, in the collection of A. Godard²⁰.

A study of archaeological data of an earlier period in the history of Western Asia shows that although during the early first millennium B. C., this motif had its widest distribution in Transcaucasia and the Zagros mountains, its predecessors belong to an earlier age. Among objects of interest found by Sir Leonard Woolley at *Alalakh* (Tell Atchana), was a tripod base the legs of

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43, pl. II: 3–4.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–55.

¹⁴ With the exception of one, *ibid.*, pl. IV, Type II.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff., 55, F. Hančar, “Die bemalte Keramik Transkaukasiens im Lichte neuer Funde”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIV Heft 5–6, 1944, pp. 284–298. Boot shapes represented as cup handles, sculptures in the round and pendants, are known from several sites in the Caucasus, but these generally belong to later periods, ranging from the VIII–III century B. C., see Ione, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., 55.

¹⁶ Dr. E. Porada informs me that in Europe boots and boot-shaped vessels were used, and are still used, as drinking vessels.

¹⁷ Ione, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., 55.

¹⁸ L. Legrain, *Luristan Bronzes in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1935, pl. VIII, size ca. 34 by 22 cm.

¹⁹ G. Hüsing, *Der Alte Orient* 9, p. 26, fig. 14.

²⁰ A. Godard, “Les Bronzes du Luristan”, *Ars Asiatica* XVII, 1931, pl. LIX, 218. Compare this to the tripod legs from Necropolis B, Tepe Sialk, R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk, près de Kashan* II, Paris 1939, pls. LXXIII. S. 938, LXXIX, S. 988 a.



Fig. 1

Terra-cotta boot vessel from Kar-mir-blur, ca. VII century B.C. Photo courtesy, the *Historical Museum of Armenia SSR, Erevan*



Fig. 2

Terra-cotta boot vessel from Kar-mir-blur, ca. VII century B.C. Photo courtesy, the *Historical Museum of Armenia, SSR, Erevan*



Fig. 3

Terra-cotta boot vessel from Ziwiye, northwestern Iran,
ca. VIII–VII century B.C. Photo Rostami, courtesy, the
Archaeological Museum, Teheran

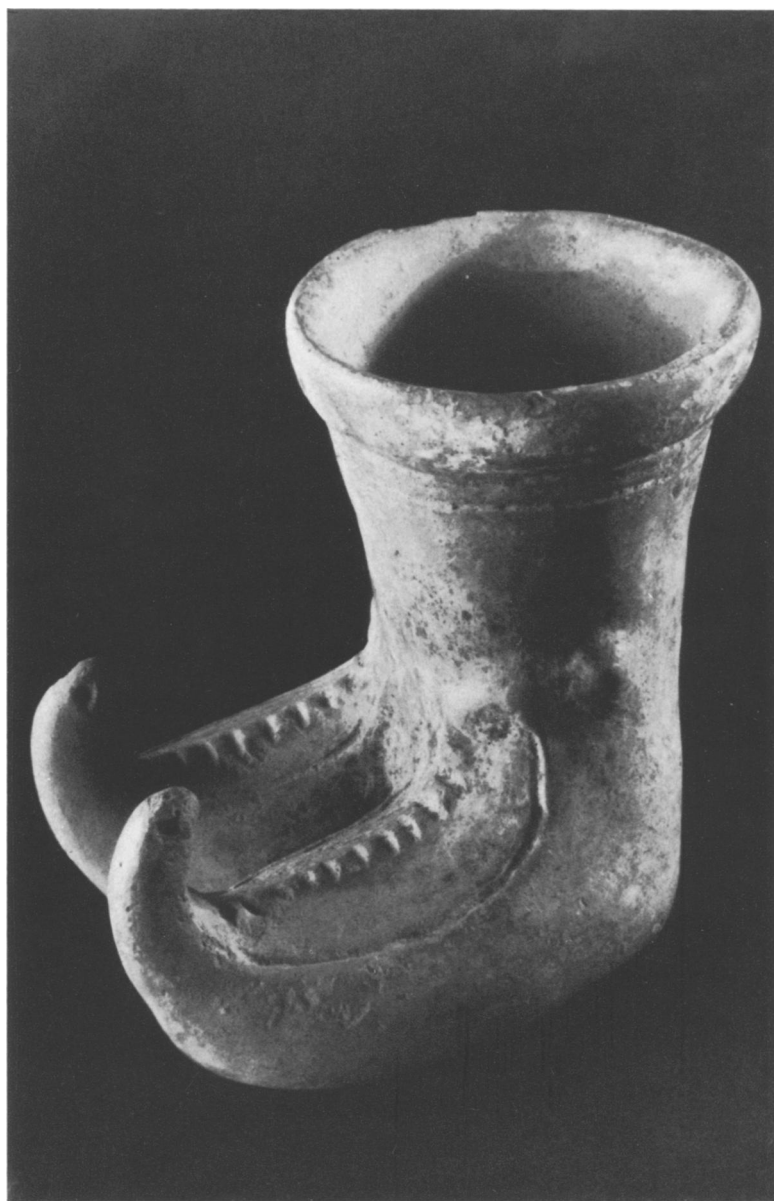


Fig. 4

Terra-cotta boot vessel from Hasanlu, northwestern Iran,
ca. VIII century B.C. Photo Rostami, courtesy, the
Archaeological Museum, Teheran

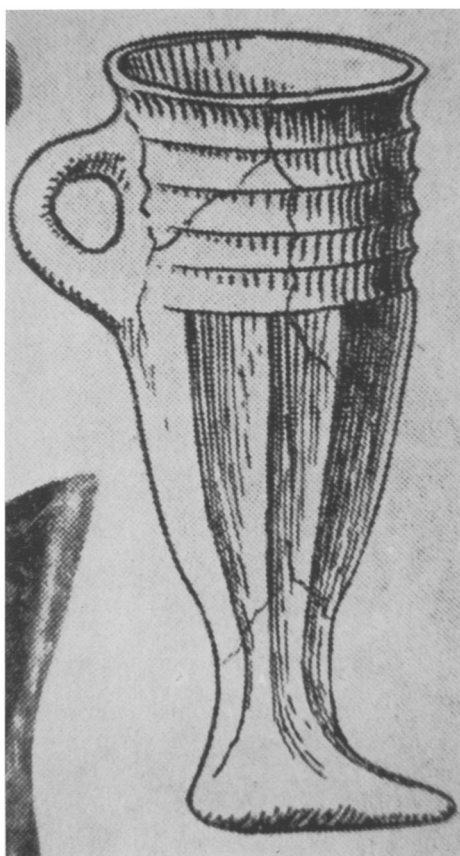


Fig. 6
Terra-cotta boot vessel (reconstruction)
from Mingechaur, Azarbaijan SSR, ca.
IX–VIII century B.C. Ione, “Gliniane
sosudi-sapozhki”, pl. III:7

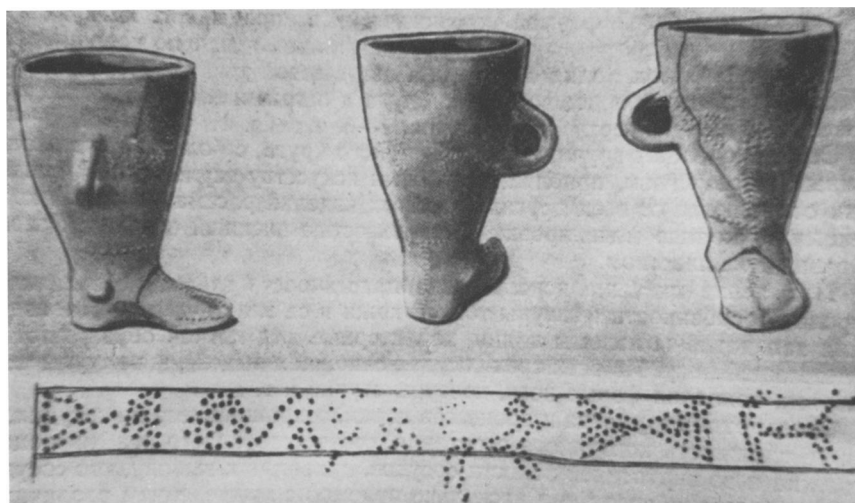


Fig. 5
Terra-cotta boot vessel from Mingechaur, Azarbaijan SSR, ca. XI–
IX century B.C. Ione, “Gliniane sosudy-sapozhki”, pl. I.

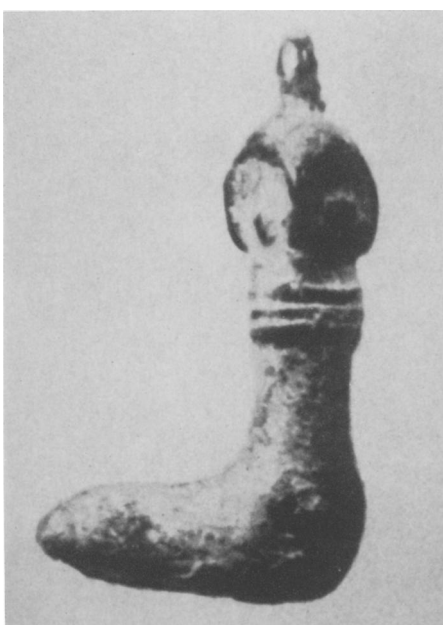


Fig. 7
Bronze amulet from Luristan, ca. VIII–
VII century B.C. Photo courtesy, the
University Museum, University of Pennsylvania



Fig. 8
Terra-cotta boot vessel from Kültepe, Anatolia, ca. 19th century B.C.
Kunst und Kultur der Hethiter, no. 76



Fig. 9

Terra-cotta boot vessel from Cappadocia, ca. 19th century B.C.

Courtesy, *Musée du Louvre*



Fig. 10

Sketch map of Urartu and neighboring territories

which apparently terminate in boot-shaped forms quite similar to the terminals of the Luristan stand in the Godard Collection. The level in which this stand from Alalakh was found, is given as either Stratum V or IV, i.e. 1595–1447 or 1447–1370 B.C.²¹. Thus we have here possibly the prototype of a motif, used primarily from the XI century B.C. and later in Transcaucasia and the Zagros region. The boot-shaped vessel and the boot or shod human foot of the tripod or tripod stand are compared here only on account of the general association of the two examples with vessels. The function of the boot shape itself, however, is not identical in the two types.

Earlier boot-shaped vessels occur in several examples from Anatolia. In the archives room at the Karum of Kanesh, *Kültepe*, were found clay boot vessels with upturned toe, but with a straight rather than a flared lip, and with an overall painted decoration on a white ground²² (Fig. 8). These pieces are dated to ca. nineteenth century B.C. and are contemporary with the well-known boot from *Cappadocia* bearing the early example of the representation of chariot driving²³ (Fig. 9). A clay boot with upturned toe and painted geometric decoration from Stratum IV at *Alishar* to the north of *Kültepe*, shows that this motif was known there at the end of the second millennium B.C.²⁴. From Stratum II at *Alishar* come several other examples of clay boots, some of which appear to have been used as amulets²⁵. Several specimens of small boots made of a copper alloy and used as pendants are known from the Hittite cemetery at *Gordion*²⁶, and have been compared by Miss Mellink to the Hittite stamp seals from *Alishar*²⁷. The pendent from *Gordion* shows a pair of boots with upturned toes and ribbed soles. The two boots are joined together at the ankle where there is a hole for suspension. This arrangement of a pair of boots is an early anticipation of the unusual double-boot effect observed in the vessel from *Hasanlu* (Fig. 4).

The votive boots from Anatolia are thus some of the oldest predecessors of the Urartian, *Hasanlu*, and *Ziwiye* boot vessels, yet even the Anatolian examples may have been preceded by examples more than a thousand years older, if we interpret the white limestone boots found at

²¹ L. Woolley, *Alalakh, An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay*, 1937–1949, Oxford 1955, *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, No. XVIII, p. 277, AT 37/8, ht. 12 m., from site H.

²² *Kunst und Kultur der Hethiter, Deutscher Kunstverlag*, Berlin 1960, nos. 75–76; T. Özgüç, *The Illustrated London News*, January 14, 1950, pp. 69–71. The author notes that these boot vessels were probably used for libations and are always found in pairs. These examples are very similar to another vessel in the Berlin Museum, which was found at *Kültepe* before the series of Turkish excavations at that site and, on the basis of parallel examples found later at *Kültepe*, should be dated to ca. 19th century B.C. See H. Th. Bossert, *Anatolien, Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur*, Berlin 1942, pl. 80, no. 400, p. 42.

²³ R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*, London 1957, pp. 53–54, Bossert, *Altanatolien, op. cit.*, pl. 81, nos. 407–408, p. 42.

²⁴ E. F. Schmidt, “Anatolia through the Ages, Discoveries at the Alishar Mound”, *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Communications*, 1927–29, p. 116. For a revision of the relative position of Stratum IV, see H. H. Von der Osten, “Supplementary Notes”, *OIUC* 14, 1930–31, pp. 47–51.

²⁵ E. F. Schmidt, “Anatolia through the Ages”, *op. cit.*, fig. 126, E. F. Schmidt, *The Alishar Hüyük IV*, 1928–29, I, fig. 28 (amulet), fig. 186 (ivory boot with engravings on the sole which indicates that it may have been used as a stamp seal). In view of new evidence from *Kültepe*, J. Mellaart has shown parallels in the stratification of the various stages of *Alishar* II period with the levels of the Karum of Kanesh at *Kültepe*. Both the Karum of *Kültepe* and *Alishar* II appear to have been destroyed (not quite clear in the case of *Alishar*) ca. 1750 B.C. J. Mellaart, “Anatolian Chronology in the Early and Middle Bronze Age”, *Anatolian Studies* VII, 1957, pp. 63–64.

²⁶ Machteld J. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion, Museum Monograph, the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1956, pl. 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41, see *supra* note 25.

Tel Brak in North Syria as votive boots. The *Tel Brak* boots, dated ca. 3200 B.C., however, may have been parts of a wooden statue now lost²⁸.

One may wonder about the meaning of these boots and whether they possessed the same significance for all the peoples who used this symbol at various times²⁹. So far the answers remain matters for conjecture. During the Iron Age in Transcaucasia such boots are generally part of the grave inventory and are presumably associated with the next life of the deceased. It has been suggested that such vessels had cult significance, acting as a form of sympathetic magic, perhaps intended as a talisman to facilitate the trip to the next world. Or they have to do with the cult of the "Divine Foot" which provided supernatural force and protection during the journey of the deceased³⁰.

If we are to exclude examples of boot vessels from Europe, where they have another history³¹, the diffusion of this symbol in Western Asia seems to have been essentially limited to Anatolia and North Syria during the second millennium B.C., and to Transcaucasia, the Lake Urmia region and the Zagros mountains during the early part of the first millennium B.C. A common denominator in the history of these areas during the periods under discussion, is perhaps the presence of a Hurrian speaking population. Alalakh was a center of Hurrian culture during the middle of the II millennium B.C., while a concentration of peoples of this speech appears to the north-east of Mesopotamia at the end of the second millennium B.C.³². Although we meet Hurrian names in the tablets of Kültepe from the 19th–18th century B.C., the references are not sufficiently numerous to lead us to suspect the presence of a strong Hurrian influence on the local

²⁸ M.E.L. Mallowan, "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar", *Iraq* IX, 1947, pp. 99ff., no. f, fig. 1, nos. 10, 19, pls. VIII: b, LII: 10, 19. I wish to thank Dr. R.D. Barnett for this reference.

²⁹ E.A. Speiser, "Of Shoes and Shekels", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 77, 1940, pp. 15–18, points out that the symbolic meaning of a pair of shoes was of a legal nature, as some of the Nuzi documents mention shoes as "token payments to validate special transactions by lending them the appearance of normal business practise". Contrast this with the possible association attached to boots, suggested by Ione, "Gliniane sosudy-sapozhki iz Mingechaura", *op. cit.*, pp. 55–59.

³⁰ Ione, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59.

³¹ In this context it may be of interest to note the two Mycenaean terra-cotta boot vessels with painted decoration from Voula in Attica, which are dated to the XIV–XIII century B.C. (S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae*, New York 1960, pl. 236). The upturned toe, straight lip and general proportions of the Mycenaean boot vessels may be compared with examples from Kültepe in Anatolia (see note 22). The latter, although of an earlier date, may well be the stylistic ancestors of the Mycenaean vessels, which are quite different from boot representations from Attica of the Geometric period. From an Early Geometric tomb (XXVI) in the Athenian Agora come two pairs of terra-cotta boots, decorated with black glaze, which are stylistically related to another similar pair from an early Geometric grave at Eleusis (V.R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, pl. 15, pp. 122–126; A.N. Skias, *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, Athens 1898, pl. 4.4, pp. 101, 104, grave "a"). These early Geometric boots differ from the Mycenaean examples in their decoration and shape and are probably clay reproductions of actual boots worn by the living in Greece at the beginning of the IX century B.C. The discovery of these boots in tombs perhaps indicates a practise similar to that in Western Asia (R.S. Young, "An Early Geometric Grave in the Athenian Agora", *Hesperia, Journal of the American Schools of Classical Studies at Athens* XVIII: 4, 1949, p. 282).

Shoe and boot amulets from Etruria exist in considerable numbers from the Bronze Age and later and show various styles of footwear inspired probably by local fashions (O. Montelius, *La Civilisation primitive en Italie I*, Stockholm 1904, pl. 52, nos. 6, 8, from Este; II, pls. 160:7, 178:17 (terra-cotta boot vessel?), 190:14 and 203:8 from Vetulonia, 229:13, 242:1). These examples may be related to boot vessels from various European sites north of Italy, which, however, are stylistically unrelated to boot vessels from Western Asia and have their own independent development (Max Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 12, Berlin 1928, pp. 437–438, pl. 108).

³² R.D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*, London 1957, pp. 40ff.

population of Anatolia at so early a period. However, as close neighbors of the Anatolians, the Hurrians may have possibly shared certain common beliefs and practises with the former³³.

One may ask, therefore, whether the archaeological evidence of the early first millennium B.C. which indicates the derivation of certain motifs from an older past, which was closely connected with the Hurrian sphere of activity, may not also suggest a continuity of mythological traditions and beliefs in people of related background (Fig. 10)³⁴.

It is to be hoped that future studies will clarify the complex cultural tradition of Urartu and that of its immediate neighbors, a tradition to which Hurrians, among others, may have made specific contributions³⁵.

³³ E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, p. 83.

³⁴ It may be relevant here to quote a statement made by R. H. Dyson in connection with the material from Hasanlu ("Hasanlu and Early Iran", *Archaeology* 13:2, 1960, pp. 126-129): "The burial ritual (*at Hasanlu*) suggests an essential continuity of some kind between the Button-Base and Grey Ware Phases which sets them off from both preceding and following cultural periods. The painted pottery provides a link for the earlier aspect of this pattern to the Hurrians of northern Iraq in the late second millennium B.C. Furthermore, the Hasanlu gold bowl, although found in the ninth-century level, must be dated to this earlier period on iconographic and stylistic grounds. These connect it on the one hand to the Hurrian-period monuments of north Syria and southern Anatolia, and on the other to the weapons of the Talish area of Russian Azerbaijan and the metal vessels now known from the Caspian shore, as well as a bronze wand from Tepe Hissar, east of Teheran. The many clearly Hurrian representations on the bowl, as well as the very fact of its still being in the area after two hundred years or more, speak for the continuity of Hurrian influence from at least 1200 B.C."

³⁵ On the subject of the continuity of Hurrian mythological concepts at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. at Hasanlu, see E. Porada, "The Hasanlu Bowl", *Expedition* 1:3, 1959, pp. 20-22. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Porada for her helpful suggestion concerning this paper.

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Nine Inscribed Choresmian Bowls

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GUITTY AZARPAY

NINE INSCRIBED CHORESMIAN BOWLS

I

Increased knowledge of the ancient Choresmian language has recently resulted in the amassing of information about some ten examples of Central Asian silver dishes that bear Choresmian inscriptions. This group of dishes is distinguished by two unusual features: 1) a close relationship between the execution of the inscription and the design, which suggests that the two were contemporaneous; and 2) exact chronological data in some of these inscriptions, indicating specific dates for the manufacture of the dishes.

While inscriptions are not uncommon on early Medieval metalwork of Western Asiatic and Byzantine origin, it is rare to discover clear proof of the relationship in time between the manufacture of the dish and the execution of its inscription. Usually these inscribed dishes have dotted letters traced on the rim, base, or directly on the decorated surface, with no apparent connection between the decorated areas and the inscriptions. The Choresmian inscribed phiale generally differs from those mentioned above by virtue of a distinct relationship between the decorated area and the inscription zone. Like some decorated Sassanian bowls, the Choresmian phiale is hammered from the back and shows a central medallion on the base, and has smooth or conchoidal walls decorated with broad ridges of embossed and chased floral and geometric patterns that flare toward the rim. These bowls differ from the Sassanian examples in the use of a single shell, the relatively small size of the dishes, and their hemispherical contour. The Choresmian inscriptions are carefully traced linearly with letters that are generally drawn with double outlines. These letters are placed within a frieze along the outer rim (and sometimes on the stem) of the bowl in an area that is clearly separated from the embossed design by a punched line. It would appear, then, that the space for the inscription had been stipulated in the original plan for the distribution of the patterns and that the inscription is contemporaneous with the decoration on the bowl. Furthermore, some of these Choresmian inscriptions provide unusually precise data by mentioning a specific year (BŠNT = year, known from the Toprak-kala documents, A.D. III–IV century) of the Choresmian era. (The beginning of the Choresmian era may be placed ca. 42 B.C., thanks to the thorough study of this question by W. B. Henning.¹)

Nine of the inscribed Choresmian dishes are silver bowls;² of these nine, four bear inscriptions that refer to specific years of the Choresmian era—years that correspond to A.D. 538 (probably 938), A.D. 658, A.D. 667, and A.D. 672 (?). Since the time of entry of the inscription presumably

¹ S. P. Tolstov, V. A. Livshitz, "Decipherment and Interpretation of the Khwarezmian Inscription from Tok Kala," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XII, Budapest 1964, 231–251; W. B. Henning, "The Choresmian documents," *Asia Major* XI 2, London 1965, 166–179. See postscript*.

² The inscribed Choresmian ewer (here *Choresmian No. 6*, see below n. 5) will be discussed elsewhere, see V. A. Livshits, V. G. Lukonin, "Srednepersidskie i sogdiiskie nadpisi na serebrianykh sosudakh," *Vestnik drevnei istorii* 3, 1964, 160.

corresponds with the date of the manufacture of the vessel bearing it, these dishes provide a key for determination of the dates of other inscribed Choresmian dishes.³

II

Three of the dated inscribed bowls share with an undated fourth dish the theme of a seated figure embossed and chased within the medallion inside the phiale (Pls. 1–5). The silver bowl in the British Museum, found before 1875, was the first published example of dated Choresmian dishes (Pls. 1–2).⁴ This bowl, here referred to as *Choresmian No. 1*,⁵ has smooth walls and a central medallion framed by a braid pattern that follows the negative contour of the circular ring stem originally attached to the base of the bowl. The four-armed figure inside the medallion is shown seated on a feline animal that curls along the lower arc of the rondo, while the crenellated crown and the upper arms of the figure follow the upper arc of the composition. The figure wears a three-piece costume consisting of a long skirt, a sleeved tunic gathered at the waist, and a shawl the ends of which are draped over the shoulders. This costume, which is repeated with some variation in the other three representations of the seated figure (Pls. 3–5), is familiar because of the Graeco-Indian representations from India and Bactria as late as A.D. V century.⁶ A stucco figure from the court of the Jauliān stupa in Taxila (Pl. 6: a) shows a costume like that worn by the figure on the Choresmian dish in the British Museum (Pls. 1–2).

The more plastic and illusionistic style seen in the treatment of drapery on the shoulders of the figure from Taxila suggests a greater fidelity to the Hellenistic stylistic principles that survived in Bactria and south of the Hindu Kush until early Medieval times.⁷ The reduction of illusionistic effects in the representation of drapery on the Choresmian dish may be explained also in terms of the internal development of Choresmian art. In contrast to the earlier, more plastic, style of the late “Classical” period of Toprak-kala (A.D. III–IV century), the later Choresmian style of the Tok-kala ossuary paintings and numismatic evidence from A.D. VII–VIII century indicate a taste for a flat and two-dimensional style in the Choresmian early Medieval period.⁸

Western Asiatic antecedents for some of the details of the costume represented on the Choresmian dish are found in the provincial Roman style, which was current at Dura Europos and in Parthian Hatra until the early third century.⁹ However, the flattened volute-shaped drapery folds

³ Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160. The inscribed Choresmian dishes which lack references to dates are all attributed by Livshits to A.D. VII–VIII century on palaeographic grounds.

⁴ O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus, with other Objects from Ancient Persia and India*, London 1905, 1926, 1964, No. 203, pl. XXXII, diam. 12.7 cm., height 4.3 cm., place of origin is unknown; see also Ia. I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoe srebro. Atlas drevnei serebrianoi i zolotoi posudy vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniia naïdennoi preimushchestvenno v predelakh Rossiiskoi imperii, Arkheologicheskaiia komissia*, S. Peterburg 1909, (hereafter cited as *VS*), pls. XVIII: 43, XIX: 43.

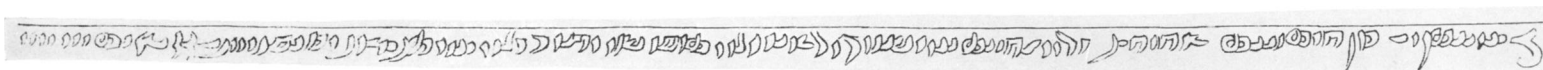
⁵ The numbers given here to the inscribed Choresmian dishes correspond with the relative order of the first appearance of these dishes in published form.

⁶ A. Foucher, “The Decoration of the Stuccoed Stupas,” in J. Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila, the Stupas and Monasteries at Jauliān, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 7, Calcutta 1921, 28, pl. XXII: a.

⁷ A. Foucher, “L’Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra II,” *L’École française d’Étrême-Orient* VI: 1, Paris 1918, 142 ff, figs. 386–389.

⁸ S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim del’там Oksa i Iaksarta*, Moskva 1962, 204 ff; A. V. Gudkova, *Tok-kala, Karakalpakskii filial akademii nauk UzSSR, Tashkent 1964, figs. 27–33*.

⁹ A similar arrangement of the drapery on the shoulders is found in the dress of some of the divinities represented in sculptures from Hatra and Dura Europos, see H. Ingholt, “Parthian Sculptures from Hatra, Orient and Hellas in Art and Religion,” *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XII, 1954, pls. III: 1, VI: 2; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923)*, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* IX, Haut Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Paris 1926, 104–105, fig. 21.



Pl. 1:a *Choresmian No. 1*: A.D. 658. Inscription from silver phiale in the British Museum, Smirnov, *V/S*, pl. XIX:43.



Pl. 1:b *Choresmian No. 1*: A.D. 658. Silver phiale in the British Museum, see pl. 1:a. Diam. 12.7 cm. Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



Pl. 2

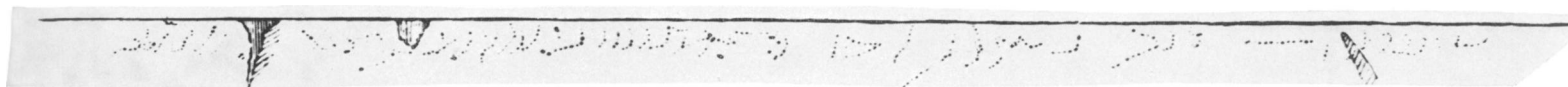
Choresmian No. 1: A.D. 658. Silver phiale in the British Museum showing a detail of pl. 1:b.
Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.



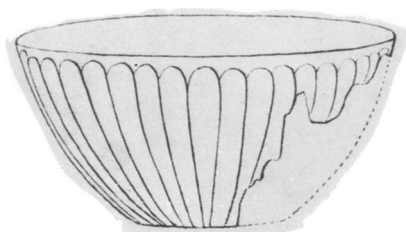
Pl. 4:a *Choresmian No. 10*: A.D. 672. Inscription from silver phiale in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, Fajans, *Ars Orientalis* II, fig. 31. Diam. 12.4 cm.



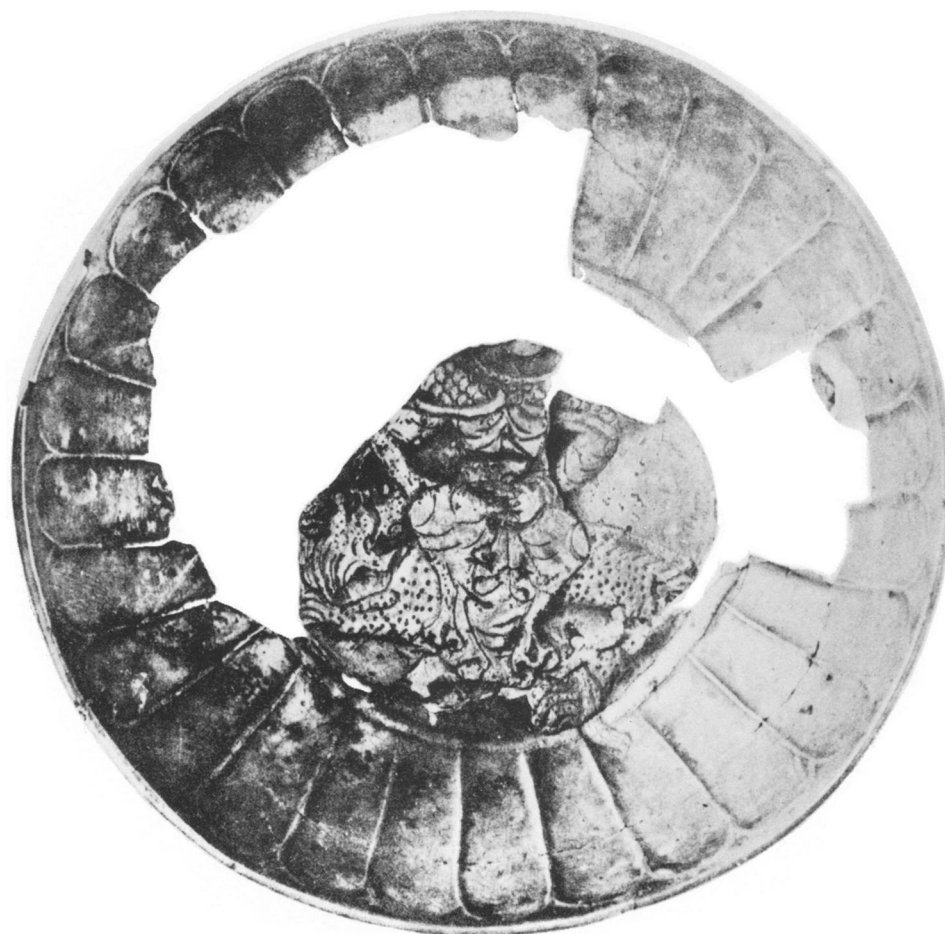
Pl. 4:b *Choresmian No. 10*: A.D. 672. Silver phiale in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, see pl. 4:a. Fajans, *Ars Orientalis* II, fig. 29.



Pl. 5:a *Choresmian No. 3*: inscription from silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Smirnov, *VŠ*, pl. XIX:44.



Pl. 5:b *Choresmian No. 3*: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, see pl. 5:a, diam. 12.5 cm. Smirnov, *VŠ*, pl. XVIII: 44.



Pl. 5:c *Choresmian No. 3*: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, see pl. 5:b.



Pl. 6:a
Stucco figure from a stupa court at Jaulian, Taxila, A.D. V century. Marshall, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 7, pl. XXII:a.



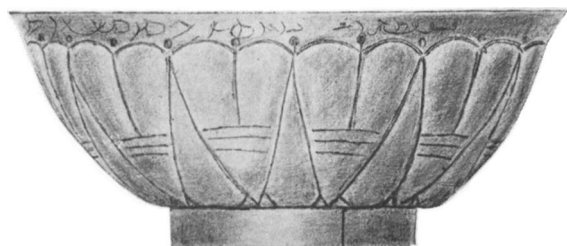
Pl. 6:b
Sassanian silver vessel in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris. Photo courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Diam. 30.5 cm.



Pl. 7 *Choresmian No. 9*: A.D. 667. Silver phiale in the State Historical Museum, Moscow. Bader, Smirnov, *Trudy gos. istoricheskogo Museia* 1954, fig. 10.



Pl. 8:a
Choresmian No. 4: inscription from silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Smirnov, *VŠ*, pl. XIX:45.



Pl. 8:b *Choresmian No. 4*: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, see pl. 8:a. Diam. 12.7 cm.



Pl. 8:c *Choresmian No. 4*: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, see pl. 8:b. Smirnov, *VŠ*, pl. XVIII:45.



Pl. 9:a *Choresmian* 7: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Smirnov, *VS*, pl. XX:46.

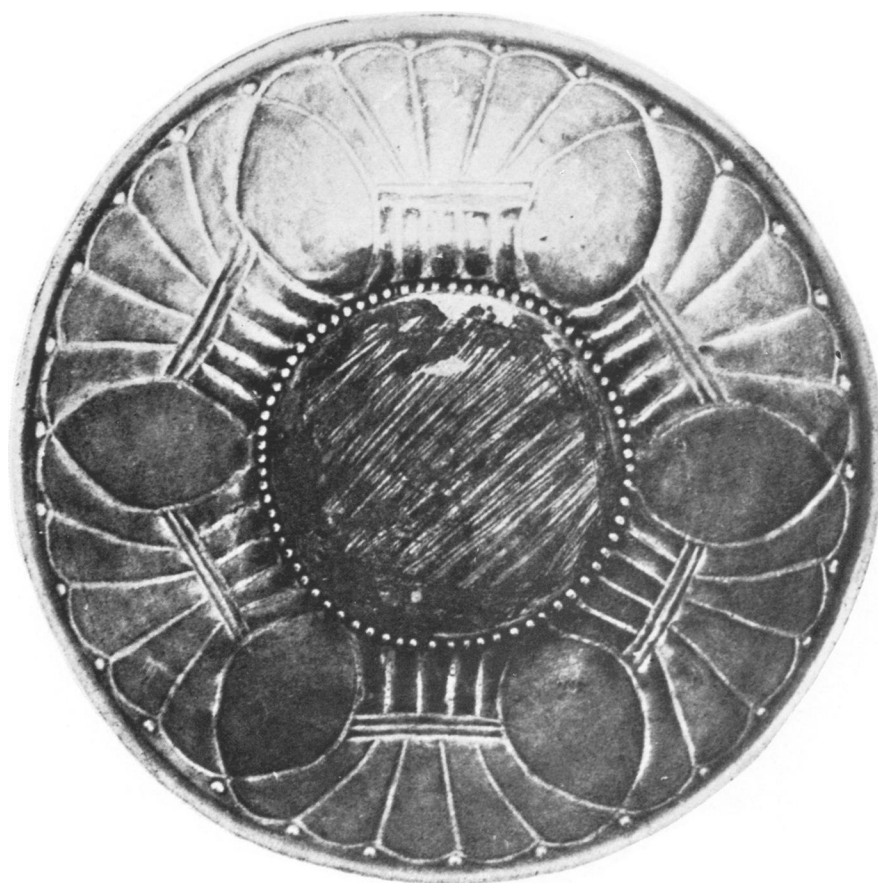


Pl. 9:b *Choresmian* No. 7: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, see pl. 9:a.



Pl. 10: a, b, c *Choresmian No. 8*: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Smirnov, *V/S*, pl. CXIV: 286.

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Pl. 11: a, b, c Choresmian No. 5: silver phiale in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, Smirnov, *VS*, pl. XIX:47. Diam. 13 cm.

and the “cleft” pattern that zigzags on the right leg of the figure on the Choresmian dish (Pl. 2) find parallels in the Iranian and Central Asian art associated with the sixth century and later rather than with the earlier Gandharan art. The representation of drapery folds on a Sassanian silver dish bearing a hunting scene in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Pl. 6: b), shows stylizations similar to those noted above for the Choresmian dish.¹⁰ A tendency toward simplification is also noted in the braid pattern of the frame of the composition on the Choresmian dish, perhaps derived from foliate bands on earlier metalwork.¹¹

Recent archaeological, numismatic, and palaeographic evidence has added greater depth and breadth to our knowledge of the civilizations of Transoxiana since 1907 when O. M. Dalton first described the Choresmian dish in the British Museum.¹² S. P. Tolstov was the first to associate the four-armed figure on the Choresmian dish, and similar figures found on other silver dishes and in terra cottas (from Teshik-kala), specifically with the region of Choresm, in the delta of the Amu Dar'ia River (Oxus) south of the Aral Sea.¹³ Later, M. N. D'iakonov compared the four-armed figure with representations of a female divinity found among the Sogdian wall paintings from Panjikent (Sector III:7), which he interpreted as cult images.¹⁴ Tolstov's identification of the Choresmian four-armed figure as a local version of the Iranian goddess Anāhita was studied by A. M. Belenitskii, who further linked the Sogdian images with OXSHO of the Kushan coins. (OXSHO was identified by this author with the “Bag-Ard” or “Ard-Vakhsh” mentioned in a Manichaean text from Chinese Turkestan.¹⁵) In an article written in 1961, N. V. D'iakonova considered the four-armed figures of the Choresmian dishes and the Panjikent wall paintings to be manifestations of the Indian Rudramsa Durga interpreted according to regional beliefs of Transoxiana.¹⁶ Since the discovery and publication of the Sogdian coins bearing the name of Nana (Ir. Anāhita), a more affirmative statement on the identification of the four-armed divinity

¹⁰ A. V. Trever, “Novoe ‘sasanidskoe’ bliutse Ėrmitazha,” *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka, Sbornik v chest' akademika I. A. Orbeli, Moskva/Leningrad* 1960, 257, fig. 1; M. Bahrani, “A gold medal in the Freer Gallery of Art,” *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, New York 1952, 5 ff.

¹¹ Prototypes may be sought in various foliate patterns, i.e., Smirnov, *VS*, pl. CXXI: 305; F. Sarre, “Einige Metallarbeiten parthisch-sassanidischen Stils,” *Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Berliner Museen* LII: 5, 1931, 119, fig. 2; A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art* IV, London 1938–1939, pl. 137: B.

¹² O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, supra, n. 4, 203, regarded the figure as a Śaivite god.

¹³ S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm, Opyt istoriko-arkheologicheskogo issledovaniia*, Moskva 1948, 198–200.

¹⁴ M. M. D'iakonov, “Rospisi Piandzhikenta i zhivopis' Srednei Azii,” *Zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, Moskva 1954, 116, 119, 139–140.

¹⁵ Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 198–200; A. M. Belenitskii, “Voprosy ideologii i kul'tov Sogda po materialam piandzhikentskikh khramov,” *Zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, supra, n. 14, 69; *idem*, “Novye pamiatniki iskusstva drevnego Piandzhikenta. Opyt ikonograficheskogo istolkovaniia,” *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, Moskva 1959, 21–22, pls. XXVI–XXVIII. Bag Ard as the guardian spirit of the Khorasan frontier appeared to the Manichaean missionary Mari Amu at the Kušan border. This spirit (*vaxš*) appeared in the guise of a young woman *kanītag* tentatively identified as the Avestan Aši, see F. C. Andreas, W. Henning, “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II,” *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Berlin 1933, 303–305, 361. A second example of a four-armed divinity, discovered in 1964 in the precincts of the second temple at Panjikent, shows the figure seated upon a reptilian monster with fangs and beak. Belenitskii associates the figures with the cult of Nana, presumably on the strength of the four arms, see A. M. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, Archaeologia Mundi series, Cleveland/New York 1968, 218, pls. 127, 133. See postscript below**.

¹⁶ N. V. D'iakonova, “Materialy po kul'tovoi ikonografii Tsentral'noi Azii do musul'manskogo perioda,” *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov Vostoka* 6, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo ėrmitazha* V, Leningrad 1961, 257–272. This author points to connections between the local non-Buddhist religion of Khotan and that of Sogdiana in which she sees the following similarities: 1) A chthonic cult associated with the ancestors of the ruling dynasty. 2) The occurrence of a pair of divinities at the head of the pantheon.

of Transoxiana has been made by N. V. D'iakonova and I. I. Smirnova.¹⁷ According to the latter, the lunar symbol and the lion throne of such figures link them with the Kushan NANA, whose name and image appear on Kushan coins of A.D. II–III century.¹⁸

Despite the manifest importance of the cult of Nana in Sogdiana in general and at Panjikent in particular,¹⁹ no proof exists for a definitive identification of the four-armed divinity of the Panjikent wall paintings and the Choresmian silver dishes. In the absence of references in the accompanying inscriptions, several valid alternative identifications may be examined. The Kushan ARDOXSHO, generally represented as an enthroned female figure in Greek costume with cornucopia, is usually identified as the Avestan goddess of abundance and wisdom Aši (Yašt XVII).²⁰ ARDOXSHO has been compared also with Arədvī Sūra Anāhita of the Pahlavi texts (Yašt V),²¹ who in turn closely resembles NANA of the Kushan coins. The Kushan coins show the goddess with scepter, cup, Graeco-Indian costume, crescent crown, and a lion vehicle.²² This NANA is perhaps equivalent to the “Artemis” whose shrine in Elymais harbored tame lions, and is similar to the Mesopotamian Nanai the Lady who was the iconographic prototype for several female divinities in the Indo-Iranian pantheon.²³ Thus Arədvī Sūra Anāhita of the Pahlavi texts, like the Indian Sarasvati, evolved from a river goddess who later assumed additional functions and different manifestations.²⁴ The lion vehicle of the major Mesopotamian fertility divinity in her different regional manifestations survived in Mesopotamia and the Roman east until the early Sassanian period.²⁵ The presence of animal thrones and animal vehicles of the goddess in Transoxiana, Bactria, and India in Late Antique and early Medieval times,²⁶ therefore, is not without western counterparts; their somewhat earlier date was doubtless a result of the suppression of such cult images under the orthodox Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian state.

Like the Tyche-Fortuna manifestation of the Kushan ARDOXSHO, the Choresmian divini-

¹⁷ O.I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Piandzhikenta*, Moskva 1963, nos. 356–463, see also W. B. Henning, “A Sogdian God,” *BSOAS* XXVIII: 2, 1965, 252, n. 68.

¹⁸ J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967, 83–91.

¹⁹ Henning, “A Sogdian God,” supra, n. 17.

²⁰ W. H. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, Oxford 1943, 65–68; L. H. Gray, *The Foundations of Iranian Religions*, Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Publications 5, Bombay, 62ff; Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 74–75.

²¹ J. Harmatta would equate the Kushan ARDOXSHO with Arədvī despite phonetic difficulties, see “Cusanica,” *Acta Orientalia* XI, *Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest 1960, 198–200, see also F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter* I, Halle (Salle) 1947, 87–88; Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 83 ff.

²² Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 83 ff.

²³ C. Aelianus, *De natura animalium Libri XVII*, XII: 20–24; Henning, “A Sogdian God,” supra, n. 17, 252–253; Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 83 ff. For a review of the literature on the motif of the goddess with a lion vehicle, see H. Möbius, “Die Göttin mit dem Löwen,” *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 449–468.

²⁴ The goddess with a lute and a lion vehicle is tentatively identified as Sarasvati, see Foucher, “L’Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandharā II,” supra, n. 7, 66ff, fig. 340; J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, 376ff; Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, supra, n. 20, 55 ff, S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, *Acta reg. societatis humaniorum litterarum Lundensis* XL, Lund 1946, 113ff.

²⁵ H. Ingholt, “Parthian Sculptures from Hatra, Orient and Hellas in Art and Religion,” *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* XII, 1954, 18ff, 23, pls. IV: 1–3, 5, IV: 2 (lion throne).

²⁶ *Zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, supra n. 14, pls. XXVI–XXVIII; *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, supra, n. 15, pl. XX; B. I. Marshak, “Otchet o rabotakh na ob “ekte XII,” *Trudy Tadzhikskoi arkeologicheskoi ekspeditsii, Akademiia nauk SSSR, Materialy i issledovaniia po arkeologii SSSR* 124, Moskva/Leningrad 1964, 237–240, fig. 26:9, (*ibid.*, 240, n. 57, on similar terra cottas from other Sogdian sites); B. Ia. Staviskii, *Mezhdū Pamirom i Kaspiem (Sredniia Azia v drevnosti)*, Akademiia nauk SSR, Moskva 1966, fig. 96 (tentative reconstruction of the wall painting from Panjikent).

ty wears a Graeco-Indian costume and holds a scepter of sovereignty.²⁷ But also like NANA of the Kushan coins, the Choresmian goddess sits upon a lion vehicle, bears a cup and a crescent, and wears the Graeco-Indian costume of northwest India. Like representations of the goddess Anāhita in Sassanian art, in which the functions of the Avestan Aši were combined with those of Arədvī Sūra Anāhita, the Choresmian image is a composite divinity whose functions are further increased by the attributes of the lion and the four arms.²⁸

The development and the importance of the cult of Nana in Sogdiana and its spread in Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestan would be difficult to explain if Nana's functions were strictly equated with those of Arədvī Sūra Anāhita, who was clearly subordinate to Ahura Mazda in the Iranian pantheon. The only Iranian divinity whose position was equal to that of Ahura Mazda in pre-Avestan times is the earth goddess Ārmaiti, who later became spənta Armaitiš, the fifth Aməša Spənta in the Avestan pantheon (Yasna XXXI: 4). Like Dyāvāprthivī of the Vedic pantheon, Ārmaiti as the earth element formed a pair with the sky god Ahura in pre-Avestan times. However, following the elevation of the latter to the rank of supreme deity in the Zoroastrian religion, Ārmaiti's position declined to that of the daughter of the god.²⁹ The fact that Spənta Armaitiš of the Avestan texts was of pre-Zoroastrian importance in the Iranian pantheon is indicated by the survival of this earth spirit as the Choresmian Spnd'rmd, the Khotanese Śśandrāmata, the Middle Persian Spandarmad, the Armenian Sandaramet, and others.³⁰

As an elemental and creative divinity in the early Iranian pantheon, the cult of the goddess Ārmaiti establishes a precedent for later cults of female divinities in the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian world in pre-Muslim times. The syncretic manifestation of the female divinity represented on Choresmian dishes and in Sogdian art might indicate a similar conceptual synthesis in which the functions and roles of several divinities were added to those of the goddess Nana (if the Nana identification is accepted). While the iconography and ideology of ancient Mesopotamia, like those of India, clearly colored the image and concept of the major goddess of Transoxiana in early Medieval times, the basis for the prolonged importance of that cult should more properly be ascribed to the persistence of the earlier Iranian traditions of Transoxiana and its neighbors where the earlier cult of the elemental earth goddess survived in a syncretic form.³¹

III

The earliest example of representation of the four-armed female divinity on the four Choresmian dishes is probably *Choresmian No. 2*, in the Hermitage Museum, dated to A.D. 538 [probably

²⁷ Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, supra, n. 20, 63.

²⁸ Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 75; I. Ringbom's attempt to link Arədvī with all the representations of female divinities known in Iranian art from the Achaemenian period through the Sassanian, is not entirely convincing, see "Zur Ikonographie der Göttin Ardvī Sura Anahita," *Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora* XXIII: 2, Abo 1957, 2–28. For some arguments against this type of indiscriminate interpretation of the representations of female figures in Sassanian art, see R. Ettinghausen, "A Persian Treasure," *Arts in Virginia*, The Virginia Museum, Fall-Winter 1967–1968, 28–41.

²⁹ Gray, *The Foundations of Iranian Religions*, supra, n. 20, 47ff; E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion according to the chief Greek Texts*, Paris 1929, 63ff.

³⁰ H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, supra, n. 20, 52; *idem*, *Indo-Scythian Studies*, *Khotanese Texts* IV, Cambridge 1961, 12; W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian God," supra, n. 17, 251, n. 54; H. W. Bailey, has recently suggested a pre-Zoroastrian origin for the Ahura Mazda-Śśandrāmata pair in Khotan, "Saka śśandrāmata," *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 136–143.

³¹ This assumption would lead me to disagree with the theory that the cult of the Iranian Anāhita in Transoxiana was of a strictly Mesopotamian origin, see Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 88, Benveniste, supra, n. 29, 28, 39, 63ff.

638³²], which shows the flat and linear style and the frontal view similar to the style of the painted Choresmian ossuaries from Tok-kala (A.D. 616–711).³³ The Bartym dish in the State Historical Museum at Moscow (A.D. 672?), here *Choresmian No. 10* (Pl. 4), and the undated Choresmian dish in the Hermitage Museum, here *Choresmian No. 3* (Pl. 5), are closest in composition and style to the British Museum piece (Pls. 1–2). The relatively high relief, the trumpet-shaped drapery folds with volute-like pleat terminals, the three-quarters view of the head, and details of the three-piece garment are features shared by the three examples cited (Pls. 1–2, 4–5). These dishes would seem to have been produced by a workshop different from but nearly contemporary to that which produced *Choresmian No. 2* (Pl. 3).

It would appear, therefore, that certain Graeco-Indian traits from the earlier art of the Kushans survived in the costume and some iconographic details peculiar to the goddess shown on the Bartym dish.³⁴ A similar survival of Kushan stylistic and iconographic principles is probably to be seen also in the representations of the goddess in the Sogdian wall paintings from Panjikent.³⁵ However, if these “classicizing” trends in the art of Transoxiana during the seventh century are to be regarded as a reversion to the past, then the flat and linear style of *Choresmian No. 2* would seem to provide a link between the more traditional schools of art in Choresm and the later provincial style of the ossuary paintings from Tok-kala.

IV

Choresmian No. 2 shares with the remaining decorated and inscribed Choresmian bowls linear forms and compositions showing a minimum of illusionistic effects (Pls. 9–11). *Choresmian No. 9*, dated to A.D. 667,³⁶ was found in 1951 at Bartym in the Kama region (Pl. 7), which also yielded *Choresmian No. 10*. The theme of the medallion composition on *Choresmian No. 9* was interpreted by Iu. A. Rapaport as a representation of a Choresmian ossuary with canopy and a pedestal consisting of a pair of antithetic lions.³⁷ This conclusion was reached by comparing the scene on the silver dish with actual Choresmian ossuaries. Rapaport’s deductions are further borne out by the discovery of painted acroteria similar to those represented on the Choresmian dish on ossuaries recently found at Tok-kala.³⁸

³² Smirnov, *VS*, pls. XVIII: 42, XIX: 42, found in the Perm region in 1845–1846, diam. 10–6 cm; Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; Tolstov, Livshitz, supra, n. 1, 238; Henning, “The Choresmian documents,” supra, n. 1, 167–168, n. 9. A. V. Gudkova, supra, n. 8, figs. 27–32; Henning, “The Choresmian documents,” supra, n. 1, 168.

³³ *Choresmian No. 10*: O. N. Bader, “Kamskaia arkhеologicheskаia ekspeditsiia,” *KSIIMK* 55, 1954, 125–126; S. Fajans, “Recent Russian Literature . . .,” *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, fig. 29–31; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160, n. 30; Tolstov, Livshitz, supra, n. 1, 233; Henning, “The Choresmian documents,” supra, n. 1, 167.

³⁴ Some coins of Huvishka show the king in a kneeling position before the figure of a goddess, see Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 166, Type F, Coin 78. *Choresmian No. 3*: Smirnov, *VS*, 6–7, pls. XVIII: 44, XIX: 44; Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; Henning, “The Choresmian documents,” supra, n. 1, 167–168.

³⁵ *Zhivopis’ drevnego Piandzhikenta*, supra n. 14, 168.

³⁶ O. N. Bader, “Kamskaia arkhеologicheskаia ekspeditsiia,” *KSIIMK* 55, 1954, 126, fig. 9–10; O. N. Bader, A. P. Smirnov, “Srebro zakamskoe, pervykh vekov nashei ery. Bartymskoe mestonakhozhdenie,” *Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskiĭ Muzeĭ, pamiatniki kul’tury* XIV, 1954, fig. 6; S. Fajans, supra, n. 33, fig. 21; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; Tolstov, Livshitz, supra, n. 1, 233, n. 12; Henning, “The Choresmian documents,” supra, n. 1, 167. Diam. 12.5 cm., weight 11.835 gr.

³⁷ Iu. A. Rapaport, “Ob bartymskom bliude naidenom v 1951 g.,” *Sovetskаia arkhеologiya* 2, 1962, 50–60, fig. 1.

³⁸ A. V. Gudkova, *Tok-kala*, supra, n. 8, fig. 27, 32.

Choresmian No. 4 bears a medallion composition showing a goat-headed male figure with diadem, a scepter in the left hand and a trefoil object in the right, and framed by a beaded border pattern (Pl. 8).³⁹ The seemingly benign aspect of the goat-headed figure would associate it with such divinities as the goat-headed Jaina deities that appear in Indian iconography of the Kushan age.⁴⁰ The demoniac goat-men of the Sogdian wall paintings from Panjikent evidently belong to a different mythological and iconographic context.⁴¹

Choresmian No. 7, which was found in 1889 in the Perm region, shows the figure of an equestrian warrior with a nimbus, and framed by a braid pattern that defines the medallion composition (Pl. 9).⁴² M. I. Rostovtsev observed in 1927 that the theme of the equestrian warrior had a broad geographical distribution in the ancient world following the emergence of syncretic cults in the second century B.C.⁴³ This author sought the prototype for this theme in earlier Scythian art in which the equestrian warrior is shown confronted by a divinity.⁴⁴ However, the rider himself is sometimes personified as a god in representations of the second century B.C. and later.⁴⁵ Both the older version of the confrontation scene and the later theme of the heroized equestrian warrior are sometimes preserved in the same artistic tradition, as in Sassanian Iran, where the two have different implications.⁴⁶ The heroized rider is first met in Choresmian art on the reverse of coins dated to I–IV century; later it reappears in Choresmian issues of VII–VIII century; these were

³⁹ Found in the Perm region in 1875, diam. 12.7 cm. Smirnov, *VS*, 6–7, pls. XVIII: 45, XIX: 45; Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; V. A. Livshits, S. P. Tolstov, "Datirovannye nadpisi na Khorezmiĭkikh ossuariakh gorodishcha Tok-kala," *Sovetskaya étnografiya* 1, 1964, 50–69, 50–69; Henning, "The Choresmian documents," supra, n. 1, 167.

⁴⁰ The attributes of the Choresmian goat-headed figure indicate his functions were different from those of the goat-headed Jaina divinity Naigameśa and his female equivalent who are usually represented as protectors of children against disease, see A. Cunningham, "Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana," *Archaeological Survey of India* XX, 1885, pl. IV: 2, 4–5; V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum," *The Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* XXIII: 1–2, Lucknow 1950, 67, E2–E3. I wish to thank Mrs. Joanna Williams for the above reference. See also Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, supra n. 24, 363, 367, 562.

⁴¹ A. M. Belenitskiĭ, "Découvertes de sculptures et de peintures à Piandjikent," *Arts Asiatiques* V:3, 1958, 178 ff.

⁴² Now in the Hermitage Museum, Smirnov, *VS*, 6–7, pl. XX:46; Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193–194; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; Livshits, Tolstov, supra, n. 39, 50–69; Henning, "The Choresmian documents," supra, n. 1, 167.

⁴³ M. I. Rostovtsev, "Bog-vsadnik na iugie Rossii ...," *Seminarium kondakovianum, Recueil d'Études, Archéologie. Histoire de l'Art. Études Byzantines*, Prague 1927, 141–146.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 141–142.

⁴⁵ The Dioscuri on the reverse of coins show the Hellenistic interpretation of this theme, see V. M. Masson, "Khorezm i Kushany," *Épigraphika vostoka* XVII, Moskva/Leningrad 1966, 79–84. In Thrace the equestrian figure was associated with the Thracian god "Heros" or "Horseman Hero," represented on coins and works of art datable to the second century B.C. and later, see G. I. Kazarov, "Thrace," *The Cambridge Ancient History* VIII, Cambridge 1930, 550–551. A Thracian phalera from Galiče, Bulgaria, in the Sofia Museum, shows the same motif, see *The Cambridge Ancient History* III, *op. cit.*, pl. 76: a. Roman coins often show the equestrian portrait of the emperor on the reverse, see A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coinage in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, University of Glasgow I, Oxford 1962, pls. 1:27, 42:2 (A. D. I century); P. M. Bruun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* VII, London 1966, pls. 16–145; 20:52, 21:100, 23:48 (early fourth century); J. W. E. Pearce, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* IX, London 1951, pls. I:13, II, XIII:2 (late fourth century). For Śaka and Indo-Parthian examples, see Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, pls. XIV–XV:269, 270, 272–274, 278–279, 281. For Kushan examples, see *ibid.*, 82–83, pls. VII: 132–133, XVI: seal 1; Rostovtsev, "Bog-vsadnik na iugie Rossii ...," supra n. 43, pl. X. The heroized rider, rare in Sassanian rock reliefs, is found in a composition which includes the usual confrontation scene at Taq-i-Bustan, see A. U. Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art*, London 1938–1939, pl. 161:A. For the equestrian portrait on Sassanian gems, see A. Ia. Borisov, V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskie Gemmy*, Leningrad 1963, nos. 30, 125, 131. Both confrontation scene and single rider are also found in Sarmatian art, see M. I. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1932, pls. XXVIII (wall painting from Kerch, A. D. I–II century), XXX:3 (copper coins of the Bosphoran kingdom, A. D. I–II century).

⁴⁶ Supra n. 45.

⁴⁷ V. M. Masson, supra, n. 45. See also G. Azarpay, "Transoxiana in Parthian and Sassanian Times," *The Cambridge History of Iran* III (forthcoming).

no doubt derived from prototypes in Bactrian coinage of the second century B.C.⁴⁷ While the same theme is found in Greek, Thracian, Roman, Sarmatian, Kushan, and Sassanian art,⁴⁸ its frequency in Choresmian art might indicate a specifically national or religious significance in the Choresmian context. Rostovtsev regarded the haloed figure on the Choresmian dish as a Central Asian god or king, while S. P. Tolstov regarded the same figure as an ancestral portrait of the Choresmian royal dynasty.⁴⁹ While a secular interpretation of the theme is not necessarily ruled out by the presence of the nimbus, such considerations as the presence of an ancestral sanctuary of the Choresmian kings at Toprak-kala and the existence of ancestral cults in nearby cultures would seem to add greater weight to Tolstov's interpretation.⁵⁰ The relatively flat and linear treatment of the forms, the facial and iconographic characteristics of the figure, and the palaeographic evidence would suggest a similarity between *Choresmian No. 7* and the early Medieval period of Choresm in pre-Islamic times (i.e., Tok-kala ossuaries), on the basis of which the dish may be dated to A.D. VII–VIII century.⁵¹

Choresmian No. 8 and *No. 5* are almost identical in the use of a continuous sheaf or palmette pattern embossed on the walls, and in the placement of the inscription in a zone along the outer rim of the vessel (Pls. 10–11).⁵² An inner medallion composition distinguishes *Choresmian No. 8* from *No. 5*, which has an undecorated base. The decorated medallion on *Choresmian No. 8* shows a reclining male figure, with diadem and a winged crown, represented on a couch in the position of royal ease, and framed by a stylized braid pattern (Pl. 10). The figure rests his arm on a cushion and grasps a sword hilt in his left hand and a trefoil object in his right; numerous antecedents and parallels for this pose exist in Iranian and Central Asian art, as shown by A. M. Belenitskii.⁵³ The beardless profile and the type of crown on *Choresmian No. 8* (Pl. 11) were compared by Tolstov to his *Group B* of the Choresmian coin portraits, placed ca. A.D. VII–VIII century, a date that would agree with stylistic and palaeographic evidence and with other iconographic features found on the dish.⁵⁴ *Choresmian No. 5* also probably dates from that period.

⁴⁷ Supra, n. 45.

⁴⁸ Rostovtsev, supra, n. 43, 144; Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra n. 13, 193–194. For the interpretation of the rider on the Choresmian dish as the divinized hero Siavush, see N. V. D'iaconova, "Materialy op kul'tovoĭ ikonografii tsentral'noi Azii domusul'manskogo perioda," supra, n. 16, 266.

⁴⁹ For the secular use of the nimbus in Sassanian art, see *A Survey of Persian Art*, supra, n. 46, pl. 166. On the ancestral cults in Western and Central Asia, see R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, Cleveland/New York 1963, 174–175. The Chinese annals of the T'ang period make reference to the divine origin of the royal dynasty at Khotan, see M. A. Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan tirée des annales de la Chine et traduite du Chinois*, Paris 1820, 41–42. N. V. D'ikanova, supra n. 16, 266, would link the equestrian warrior on the Choresmian dish with the riders represented on the Khotanese painted panels in the British Museum.

⁵⁰ It is of interest that the same date for the Choresmian dish was proposed by Ia. I. Smirnov already in 1909, supra, n. 42.

⁵¹ *Choresmian No. 8*: Smirnov, *VS*, 7, pl. CXIV: 286, diam. ? Found before 1909, provenience unknown, now in the Hermitage Museum, Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193; Livshits, Tolstov, supra, n. 39, 50–69; Henning, "The Choresmian documents," supra, n. 1, 167. *Choresmian No. 5*: Smirnov, *VS*, 6–7, pl. XIX: 47, diam. 13 cm. Found in 1875 in the Perm region, now in the Hermitage Museum, Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm*, supra, n. 13, 193; Livshits, Lukonin, supra, n. 2, 160; Livshits, Tolstov, supra, n. 39, 50–69; Henning, "The Choresmian documents," supra, n. 1, 167. In contrast to *Choresmian No. 8* on which the letters of the inscription were indicated by double contours, the letters on *Choresmian No. 5* are traced in single strokes.

⁵² Belenitskii, "Novye pamiatniki iskusstva drevnego Piandzhikenta," supra, n. 15, 45 ff, fig. 8. For antecedents to his pose, see Rosenfield, supra, n. 18, 66, Coin Types B, D, pl. IV: 76–78. The object held in the right hand of the figure on the Choresmian dish appears to replace the short mace and branch grasped in the right hand of Kushan kings represented in the coin portraits, see *ibid.*, 24, Coin Type V, pl. II: 21–22, pl. III: 46 ff. Compare the trefoil object held in the right hand of the figure on the Choresmian dish with attributes of Kushan donor figures from Mathura, *ibid.*, figs. 22–23, 26.

⁵³ Supra, n. 52.

Thematic and stylistic analysis of the nine Choresmian silver dishes indicates the presence in the Oxus delta region of distinctive metalworking workshops during the early Medieval period (A.D. VII–VIII century) with roots in the late Antique tradition of Choresm, which had been interrupted in the fourth century. The absence of a pronounced Sassanian influence, and the iconographic links between Choresmian art and the traditions of the southern Central Asian states in Transoxiana and Bactria, seem to reinforce the emerging image of Choresm as an independent early Medieval state with cultural affinities with the ancient Iranian traditions of eastern Iran and Central Asia. An active commercial policy, perhaps reinforced by the strategic position of Choresm as a frontier state between the urban civilizations of Iran and Transoxiana and the northern steppe belt, would seem to explain how the majority of the Choresmian inscribed dishes came to be found not in Choresmian territory but in the vicinity of Perm and the Kama river basin in the Ural mountains.

* More recently V.A. Livshitz and A.V. Gudkova have proposed A.D. 10–30 for the beginning of the Choresmian era which they distinguish from the “Śaka era” and the “Kanishka era,” *Vestnik Karakalpakskogo ANUzSSRI*: 27, Nukus 1967, 3–19. I have found Henning’s interpretation of the historic events persuasive and have adopted the latter’s computation of the Choresmian era over that of Livshitz and Gudkova. The former also presents a specific starting point useful for a consistent treatment of the material here at hand. Livshitz’s alternative *terminus ante quem* of A.D. 30, the latest possible date for the beginning of the Choresmian era, nevertheless, has raised the question of the validity of any definitive identification of the initial date of the Choresmian era at the present time.

** See also the editor’s forward (A.C. Soper) in P. Banerjee, “A Śiva Icon from Piandjikent,” *Artibus Asiae* XXXI:1, 1969, 73 ff.



The Kushan Conference in Dushanbe

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The Kushan Conference in Dushanbe

The International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period, held September 27 to October 6, 1968, in Dushanbe, the capital of the Soviet republic of Tajikistan, marked the first milestone of a UNESCO project which in 1966 authorized a four-year study of the civilizations of the peoples of Central Asia. The Kushan conference was organized by the Committee on the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia of the Commission of the USSR for UNESCO, and the Organization Committee of the Academy of Sciences of the republic of Tajikistan with the collaboration of the ministries of culture of the USSR, the institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, and numerous Soviet museums.

The UNESCO project is an attempt to understand and evaluate the past and present characteristics and achievements of the peoples of Central Asia. The project was initiated by a study of the Kushan period, a turning point in the history of those civilizations in late antique and early mediaeval times. Their political unification under the Kushans instituted a period of economic prosperity and commercial interaction that appreciably affected their cultural composition and expression during their formative years.

Appropriately, the largest number of participants at the conference represented countries immediately involved in the project (Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Iran, the Central Asian republics of Soviet Kirghizia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan). Over ninety formal papers and numerous archaeological reports and discussions were presented by an international body of scholars who also participated in field trips to excavation sites in the Tajik and Uzbek republics. The conference was outstanding for its interdisciplinary approach: contributions were submitted by anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, historians, linguists, palaeographers and numismatists. The topics covered every phase of Kushan civilization. The present writer can sum-

marize only those papers of primarily archaeological, historical and art historical interest, and does not pretend to provide total coverage of the broad spectrum of disciplines represented.

A. Mandelshtam (Leningrad) reported on archaeological data from nomadic burials in Kushan territory and distinguished between two types of burials in northern Bactria. The first type was mounds, from the Tulkhar region and the Bishkent valley in southern Tajikistan, were simple rubble-covered graves containing supine skeletons accompanied by grave goods (wheel-made pottery, weapons, ornaments and clothing). The second type was pit burials from the Babashov cemetery. Both types were dated to the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century of our era and were associated with members of the four nomadic tribes that destroyed the Graeco-Bactrian empire at the end of the second century B.C. Typologically these graves are linked with those of the steppe zone north and east of Transoxiana and are to be distinguished from the burial patterns of the sedentary population of Bactria. The latter people were evidently a stable factor during the period of transition from Greek to Kushan rule since their agricultural productivity was apparently unaffected by the nomadic invasions. A progressive adaptation by the nomads to the cultural patterns of the sedentary population of Bactria and its northern fringes was discussed by O. V. Obelchenko (Tashkent) who analyzed material from early Kushan type burials from the Bukhara oasis. Weapons which had predominated in the earlier graves were replaced by ceramics and ornaments associated with burials of a slightly later period from the same site. While links with Sarmatian tombs in the Volga and Ural regions are observable in the burial rites and contents of the Bukhara oasis grave complex, the unusual cranial deformation practiced by members of the tribe buried at the latter site provided an antecedent for a similar practice among the later population of Transoxiana.

V. Ginzburg (Leningrad) summarized anthropological material from Transoxiana of the early centuries after Christ and distinguished two basic physical types: a Mediterranean (southern Europoid) type

associated with the south, and a proto-Europoid type representative of the northwestern reaches of Transoxiana. The introduction of a slight Mongoloid admixture marks the only change in that period in the population composition of this area, which had remained relatively stable since the Bronze Age. The connections between this change and the arrival of the Kushans in Bactria, Ginzburg cautions, is only by inference based on the resemblance between coin portraits of the Kushan kings and anthropological material from the nomadic burials that demonstrate the practice of artificial cranial deformation. Macrocephalia (artificial cranial deformation) was apparently practiced by all anthropological types represented by the people of Transoxiana in Kushan times, as noted in the papers presented by V. Zelenkova (Tashkent) and T. Kiyatkina (Dushanbe), and its occurrence has been recorded in burials from Choresm, Tashkent, Namangan and the Surkhan Darya regions. B. Vainberg (Moscow) reviewed archaeological material from Choresm and indicated her preference for a slightly later date for the beginning of the Choresmian era (A.D. 54) than had been proposed by V. A. Livshitz and W. B. Henning. Vainberg places the Toprak-kale palace within a time span of approximately fifty years from the later third to the early fourth century. However, as no new evidence has appeared since the discussions of Choresmian chronology by Livshitz and Henning, the earlier dates proposed by the latter are still valid.

Among papers that had a direct bearing on the question of Kushan chronology, the following were of special interest. D. MacDowal (London) equated A.D. 78 with the reign of the "Nameless King" and the beginning of the Kushan era. E. Zeymal (Leningrad) argued in favor of A.D. 278 for the initial date of the "Kanishka era," a hypothesis proposed long ago by D. Bhandarkar (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XX, Bombay 1900). According to this hypothesis the "Unknown era" of the Kushan inscriptions is identical to the "Saka era," and the "Kanishka era" is regarded as the third century of the "Unknown era." Zeymal referred to supporting evidence from a new interpretation of epi-

graphical data from Sassanian Iran (see below, *Lukonin*). In a separate booklet distributed at the time of the conference, Zeymal presented a review of the literature on the problem of Kushan absolute and relative chronology, and stressed the need for discrimination in the use of chronological data and an awareness of limitations inherent in information gleaned from inscriptions, palaeography and coins. In substance, Zeymal's thesis is as follows. Historical determinants obtained from China, India, Iran and Rome indicate only the broad limits of the Kushan dynasty which lasted from A.D. 25 to ca. 375, and lack fixed points of reference for the reigns of Kanishka and his successors who followed him for 98+X years. The three variants of the date of Kanishka are as follows: 1) A.D. 278. This date, which was first proposed by Bhandarkar (see above), has been adopted by Zeymal. 2) A.D. 144. R. Ghirshman equated the "Unknown era" with the "Vikrama era" and placed the "Kanishka era" in the third century of that era. Ghirshman posited a long interregnum between the reigns of Vima Kadphises and his successor Kanishka. However, R. Göbl has now shown a close typological relationship between Vima's later coins and those from the early years of the reign of Kanishka. (For Ghirshman, see *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* III: 3, Neuchâtel 1957, 698ff. For Göbl, see F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt am Main 1957, 186.) 3) A.D. 78. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw assumed that the "Kanishka era" corresponded with the "Saka era" and that it represented the third century of the "Unknown era." According to this view the "Unknown era" is equated with the "Old Saka era" (see *The Scythian Period: An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India . . .*, Leiden 1949).

The latest date from Kanishka, which Zeymal supports with considerable lucidity and objectivity, is perhaps the most controversial though equally valid of the three hypotheses. This date merits special attention as the admission of this alternative emphasizes the frailty of chronological assumptions regarding questions such as the stylistic sequence of Gandharan art or the

Painted terracotta figure, perhaps a portrait of a Kushan ruler, from the early Kushan palace at Khalchayan in southern Uzbekistan. The figure was on view at the exhibition of Kushan Art and Archaeology. Height, 1.28 m. (See page 257.)



Painted terracotta head of a helmeted warrior from the almost life size statues on exhibit at the Kushan Conference. Height, 27 cm.

political status of the Western Kšatriyas.

Bhandarkar's list of the "Kanishka dynasty," with corrections by Zeymal, is as follows:

Kanishka A.D. 278-301
Vasishka (was unknown) 302-306
Huvishka 306-338
Kanishka II (was unknown) 319
Vasudeva 342-376

V. G. Lukonin's report (Leningrad) on "Sassanian conquests in the east of Iran and the problem of Kushan chronology" concerned itself with references to the Kushans found in Sassanian and early Muslim sources. The reference to the conquest of Kushanshahr found in the inscription of Shapur I from Ka'ba-i-Zardusht (A.D. 262) was regarded by Lukonin as a *claim* rather than a reality. Lukonin also believes that references in early Muslim sources to the conquest of Kushanshahr in the early years of the Sassanian dynasty are anachronisms introduced by later historians. For Lukonin the most valid chronological data is numismatic material that seems to link the reign of Vasudeva, the last of the Kushan dynasty, with that of the Sassanian king Shapur II (A.D. 309-379). The Kushano-Sassanian coin series, which marks the end of independent minting of Kushan coins, is stylistically and typologically associated with Sassanian coins of the second half of the fourth century. Zeymal's views on the date of Kanishka are thus supported by this numismatic study and by Lukonin's not uncontested interpretation of the Persian sources.

The following papers offered notable contributions to the study of the language and writing of the Kushans. V. A. Livshitz (Leningrad) discussed details of Bactrian inscriptions from Bactria and Sogdiana, some of which were placed on exhibition at a special showing of the art and archaeology of the Kushans prepared for the Dushanbe conference. J. Harmatta (Budapest) proposed a number of specific dates for inscriptions from the Buddhist sanctuary at Kara-tepe (Termez), and L. Herzenberg (Leningrad) compared elements of the Bactrian language with Khotanese Saka.

A number of reports treated the geographical extent of the Kushan empire. The absence of Buddhism in Choresm and the presence there

of frontier posts in Kushan times were regarded in a paper presented from M. Masson (Tashkent) as proof of Choresm's independence from Kushan political control. In the light of her examination of archaeological material from Ferghana, N. Gorbunova (Leningrad) concluded that Kushan influence penetrated primarily the western regions of Ferghana, while a distinct local culture evidently flourished in the central and eastern parts of the Ferghana valley.

In a special session on the history of the Kushan state, D. Schlumberger (Strassburg) reviewed the chronology of Kushan material from Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan and restated his preference for A.D. 278 as the date of the destruction of Temple B, which yielded Kushano-Sassanian coins. G. Frumkin (Geneva) presented a general review of Soviet archaeological discoveries of the Kushan period. B. J. Stavisky (Moscow) reported on excavations at Kara-tepe (Termez), a Buddhist religious center in northern Bactria during the Kushan period. Links with the Buddhist tradition of centers in India are observable in the plan of some of the cave temples from Kara-tepe and in the fragmentary wall paintings, stone sculpture, terracottas and inscriptions from that site. B. A. Litvinsky (Dushanbe) discussed the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia and reviewed recent discoveries of Buddhist remains of the first century and later at Giaur-tepe (Margiana), Kara-tepe (Termez), Dalverzin-tepe (southern Uzbekistan) and Ajina-tepe (southern Tajikistan). Litvinsky commented on the importance of the local Bactrian artistic school, within the broader framework of Gandharan art in Kushan times, and characterized it as a source of artistic influences that perpetuated the Bactrian tradition in the remarkable paintings and sculptures from Ajina-tepe of the seventh century. The latter site, located near Kurgan-tyube, was a Buddhist complex that contained a stupa with a stepped cruciform base and stucco and painted images pertaining to a Hīnayāna form of Buddhism. Litvinsky's booklet, "Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia," prepared for this occasion, is an indispensable review and evaluation of the sources and excavation of Buddhist sites in



Painted terracotta head from the Buddhist monastery at Ajinatepe in southern Tajikistan.

the entire region of Transoxiana.

L. Albaum (Tashkent) reported on the stratigraphy of the following Kushan settlements in the Surkh Darya region: Zar-tepe, a Kushan mausoleum, and Khairabad-tepe (all north of Termez) and Dalverzin-tepe in southern Uzbekistan. The stratigraphic evidence from Khairabad-tepe is particularly relevant to the question of the date of Kanishka and shows the following sequence: 1) Kushan level containing coins of Kadphises I, Kanishka, Huvishka and a Roman coin of Nero. 2) A period of decline followed by 3) the revival of the town which yielded coins of Vasudeva and Sassanian coins of Hormizd II. 4) A second period of decline, followed by 5) a Hepthalite level that yielded imitations of the Sassanian coins of Peroz (A.D. 459-484). Only general chronological guidelines are indicated by this coin evidence—for example the finding of Vasudeva's coins in the same level as those of Hormizd II (A.D. 302-309). The duration and specific dates for each level, however, are still speculative, and thus the date of Kanishka remains elusive. In her report of Ku-

shan strata in southern Tajikistan, *T. Zeymal* (Leningrad) presented a careful analysis of Yavan pottery types and correlated them with the Kobadian material studied earlier by M. M. D'yakonov. The Yavan pottery sequence is dated solely on the basis of Kushan numismatic evidence and its chronology, therefore, is subject to the same basic problems.

Noteworthy among the numerous reports on recent archaeological discoveries of the Kushan period were the following papers: *B. Turgunov* (Tashkent), "The Airtam Town Site"; *V. Pilipko* (Ashkabad), "Archaeological monuments of Kushan times on the banks of the Amu Darya's central reaches"; *N. Negmatov* and *E. Saltovskaya* (Dushanbe), "Material culture of Kushan times in Ustrushana in West Ferghana"; *S. Kabanov* (Tashkent), "Late Kushan settlements in the lower reaches of the Kashka Darya River"; *S. Chernikov* (Leningrad), "Some regularities in the historical development of early nomads (according to archaeological material from the Western Altai)"; *Y. Zadneprovsky* (Leningrad), "History of Central Asia nomads in the Kushan period."

C. Pugachenkova (Tashkent), in her paper "Kushan art in the light of recent discoveries in Northern Bactria," noted stylistic traits peculiar to terracotta portraits from the secular monument at Khalchayan (southern Uzbekistan) that were compared to somewhat later Buddhist sculptures from Dalverzin-tepe. These remarkable painted sculptures, a little less than life size, provided some of the highlights of the Dushanbe exhibition of Kushan art and archaeology. *Ch. Mustamindy* (Kabul) discussed the recent excavations of the Afghan archaeological expedition to Shotortepe, a Buddhist monastery northwest of Hadda, and the unusual stucco reliefs from the "Fish Porch," dated by the excavator to II-III century of our era. *D. Faccenna* (Rome) reviewed the work of the Italian archaeological mission, *IS-MEO*, in Iran (Seistan), Afghanistan (Ghazni, Mazar-i-Sharif) and northern Pakistan (the Swat valley). *T. Higuchi* (Kyoto) reported on the Kyoto University excavations of Kushan sites in Afghanistan (Chanaka-Dheri, Mekhasanda, Threli and Durman-tepe). The formal sessions of the conference con-



Stone relief showing a lion at the feet of the Buddha, found during the first Afghan archaeological expedition to Hadda. Photograph, courtesy of Ch. Mustamindy.

cluded with a number of reports on the art and iconography of Transoxiana, e.g. *V. Mesbkeris* (Dushanbe), "Saksanokhur terracottas"; *A. Belenitsky* (Leningrad), "West Turkestan art of the pre-Arab period and its connections with Kushan art"; *N. Dyakonova* and *T. Grek* (Leningrad), "The Conception of Dharmakaya in the fine arts."

Abstracts of most of the papers by Soviet participants were circulated at the time of the conference and fuller outlines and reprints of some papers were made available, including those by *B. Gafurov*, *M. Asimov*, *B. Y. Stavitsky* and *G. M. Bongard-Levin*. Notable was a helpful and comprehensive bibliography entitled "Soviet Central Asian Archaeology and the Kushan Problem," prepared by *B. Y. Stavitsky et al.* A catalog of the Dushanbe exhibition of Kushan art and archaeology was also compiled by authorities in the areas represented in that collection.

Visits to the excavations at Ajina-tepe and Kafir-kala, in southern Tajikistan, both supervised by *B. A. Litvinsky*, and a post-conference tour of Panjikent and Samarkand were particularly bright points of the conference. Special thanks are due the Organization Committee of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and its Central Asian branches for their cordial and untiring hospitality throughout the period of the conference.

Although the date of Kanishka is still in dispute after the third symposium on Kushan chronology since 1913, this conference has, nevertheless, succeeded in producing a sharper and richer picture of the civilizations of Central Asia during their brilliant formative periods in the late antique and early mediaeval times.

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GUITTY AZARPAY

THE ALLEGORY OF *DĒN* IN PERSIAN ART¹

A boat-shaped silver bowl from the collection of M. Foroughi, exhibited in 1965–1971, at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, bears a complex figurative design, dominated by four female instrumentalists (pls. 1–3).² The relatively rich descriptive detail found in the treatment of the subject matter in the composition found on the Foroughi bowl, offers a basis for the interpretation of a theme that is familiar from numerous other examples of Sassanian and early medieval Central Asian metalwork.³

Intact with only minor traces of accretion on the rim, the boat-shaped bowl is constructed from two separate shells: a decorated inner shell worked in *repoussé* and a smooth outer one that bears a short Pahlavi inscription in *pointillé* on the rim.⁴ The low relief of the design on the inner shell is distinguished by a thin, pale yellow mercury gilded surface, now partially worn, that sets off the figures from the flat silver ground. The absence of chased or engraved accents on the low relief, the blurred contours created by the gold spill, and the impression of rapid circular motion of the forms in the composition combine to produce a shimmering glossy finish that differs from the uneven etched surface effects that characterize most Sassanian and Byzantine silver dishes. Indeed, the *repoussé* technique without the use of surface tooling is seldom found in Sassanian silver vessels⁵ and appears to have been generally reserved for the

¹ The present article is based on a more extensive paper on several inscribed Sassanian silver vessels from the collection of M. Foroughi, entitled, "Four instrumentalists: an allegoric statement on a Sassanian silver vessel." That paper, with a discussion of the inscriptions on the silver vessels by Professor Shaul Shaked, was submitted in 1970 for publication in the *Arthur Upham Pope Memorial Volume, A Survey of Persian Art*. However, in view of the uncertainty about the eventual public circulation of that volume, and because of requests from interested colleagues, a shortened and revised version of that paper is presented here.

² I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Rexford Stead, of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, for making available the photographs reproduced here as pls. I–II, and to Mr. M. Foroughi for his generous permission to publish these photographs.

³ The silver bowl in the Foroughi collection was noted under the catalogue entry no. 799, in R. Ghirshman et al., *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran*, (Paris Octobre 1961–Janvier 1962). The bowl is there noted to have originated in the Dailamān region, in Iran.

⁴ The bowl measures 5.5 cm in height, 12.2 cm in breadth, 18.2 cm in length, and weighs 360 gr.

⁵ Although the use of the double shell is not common in Sassanian cast metal dishes, the technique is sometimes found in Sassanian and early Islamic metal dishes worked in repoussé technique. For silver dishes in repoussé technique, see Ghirshman, *Sept mille ans d'art en Iran*, no. 803, pl. XCIII, no. 796; J. Orbeli, C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide, objets en or, argent et bronze* (Moscou–Léningrad 1935), no. 41. The same technique was employed for the manufacture of the bronze salvers from the Caucasus that were evidently made after Sassanian models, see Orbeli, Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide*, no. 64–70, or J. Orbeli, "Sāsānian and early Islamic metalwork," *A Survey of Persian Art from Pre-historic Times to the Present*, ed. A. U. Pope (London, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938, henceforth *Survey*) IV, pls. 235–236; L. I. Ringbom, "Three Sassanian Bronze Salvers with Paridae Motifs," *Survey* XIV (1960), pp. 3029–3041.

decoration of smaller artifacts.⁶ The glossy finish of the design on the Foroughi bowl recalls rather the iridescent effect of glazed ceramics or glassware of Sassanian times.⁷

Stylistic Considerations

The figurative design on the Foroughi bowl is planned around a cross-shaped pattern of vines that divide the deep oval surface of the bowl into four parts (pls. 2–3). Each of the four segments of the composition includes a pair of birds (pheasants?) that face the vine tops, a nude female instrumentalist in the center of the picture, and an animal at the base of the vine. A cross-shaped configuration of scales or trilobate forms arranged around two ducks, represented as moving in opposite directions, concludes the succession of forms in the center of the bowl. Although the female figures differ in their attributes, they are interrelated through their positions and gestures, which are consistently subordinated to the general decorative scheme of the composition. The rotational motion of the design, echoed in the reversal of direction of the ducks, finds parallels in other Sassanian compositions.⁸ The formal interrelationship of the four instrumentalists is suggested by the confrontation of the profile heads of the pair on the long sides of the bowl, and the matching direction of movement of the figures on the short sides. Despite their light prancing gait, the figures are firmly anchored to the horizontal and vertical axes established by the direction of the vines. Sassanian stylistic conventions are observed in the compositional scheme and in the use of profile views of head and legs and the frontally represented torso. The nude female form, although not found in rock reliefs, is frequently represented in other media in Sassanian art in both secular and symbolic contexts.

The formal organization and theme of the design on the Foroughi bowl are repeated in a somewhat altered version on three silver bowls from Māzandarān, now in the Archaeological Museum in Teheran, and in a still different version on the exterior of a lobed boat-shaped vessel in Cleveland.⁹ The predilection for a decorated exterior, the chased surface accents, the use of additional or different pictorial elements, and finally the less consistent adaptation of constituent parts to the general compositional scheme distinguish the latter representations from that on the Foroughi bowl.¹⁰ Furthermore, the fully clothed figures on the Teheran bowls and the nude figures on the Cleveland vessel are rendered in a strongly linear and dry style and appear within ornamental frames or compartments that stress decorative rather than substantive or

⁶ As on Sassanian coins and medallions. For Byzantine parallels, cf. M.C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection II* (Washington, D.C., 1965), no. 2, no. 36, no. 179.

⁷ Shinji Fukai, "Sasanian Cut-Glass Bowls in Iran and in Japan," *Survey XV* (1968), pp. 3268–3274; R. Ettinghausen, "Parthian and Sāsānian pottery," *Survey I*, p. 664ff., pls. 179, 187–189; K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, new ed. (Mainz, 1969), figs. 91, 95.

⁸ P. Ackerman, "Sāsānian Seals," *Survey I*, p. 790; A.D.H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals II: The Sassanian Dynasty* (London, 1969), pl. 10: DF 1–3. The manner in which this bowl was manipulated in Sassanian times is suggested by the position of the ducks which appear in upright positions only from the short sides of the bowl.

⁹ R. Ghirshman, "Argenterie d'un seigneur sassanide," *Ars Orientalis II* (1957), pp. 77–82; W. B. Henning, "New Pahlavi Inscriptions on Silver Vessels," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies XXII*: 1 (London, 1959), pp. 132–134; D. Shepherd, "Sasanian Art in Cleveland," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art LI*: 4 (1964), p. 86ff., figs. 25–27, and *ibid.* LIII: 8 (1966), pp. 301–303.

¹⁰ As the inconsistent direction of the legs of the figures on the bowls from Māzandarān.

spatial qualities. The relatively rich narrative detail on the Foroughi bowl is reduced to the bare rudiments in the version on the Teheran bowls, while the difference between the secondary figures on the Cleveland vessel and those on the Foroughi bowl may suggest a significant thematic variation.¹¹ The robust, realistic proportions, the full rounded contours and the delicately modeled relief of the Foroughi composition recall rather the sculptural qualities of the rock reliefs that are reflected in various other media in Sassanian art.¹²

A counterbalance to the subtle spatial values created by the delicate internal modeling of the figures in the Foroughi composition is provided by the use of symmetry and repetition; for example the globular form of the grapes is repeated in the pearls of the necklaces and earrings, and in anatomical accents, while other schematized details echo the form of the drop-shaped vine leaves. By comparison, the Teheran and Cleveland compositions are less consistently formulated.¹³

The female heads on the Foroughi bowl are shown with a cap of hair, with a top-knot, that frames the face and is gathered across the ears and neck into three or four parallel rolls (pl. 3). A similar hair-style is sometimes found in Parthian art, as shown in the female torso that served as the terminal of an ivory rhyton from Nisa. The dependence of Parthian examples on Hellenistic prototypes indicates an ultimate, if not direct, borrowing of this convention from the west in Sassanian times.¹⁴ This Hellenistic hairstyle was reserved for impersonal figures in Sassanian art, while definite individuals were coiffed according to the fashion of the times.¹⁵ Similarly, in Sassanian art representations of the nude female form seems to have been reserved for impersonal figures such as garland- and wreath-bearers, musicians, dancers, and some idealized and symbolic personages.¹⁶

Each instrumentalist on the Foroughi bowl carries a billowing scarf that encircles the back of the thighs and is draped over the elbows in a manner that recalls "dancing" figures in Sassanian art.¹⁷ The representation of wind-blown drapery as an artistic device for the expression of movement is found in Greek art of the Classical period which provided the model for both

¹¹ The small naked male figure with wineskin depicted on the Cleveland vessel may carry Dionysiac allusions as supposed by Shepherd, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* LI: 4 (1964), pp. 86–88.

¹² Survey IV, pls. 157 B, 160 B, 164 A; R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties 246 B.C.–A.D. 651* (New York, 1962), pls. 180–182, 186; W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969), pls. 134–135; Bivar, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, pls. 7–8 *passim*.

¹³ See above, n. 10.

¹⁴ M. E. Masson, G. A. Pugachenkova, *Parfyanskii rytony Nisy, Trudy yuzhno-turkmenistanskoi arkeologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii* (Moskva, 1956), pl. CXII. For fourth to fifth century parallels to this convention in the west, see D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (New York, 1966), pp. 197–198, pls. 60–61. For earlier *comparanda*, see Peter La Baume, *Römisches Kunstgewerbe zwischen Christi Geburt und 400* (Braunschweig, 1964), pls. 4, 286; H. B. Walters, *The Art of the Romans* (London, 1911), pls. facing p. 136, and LXI; G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1963), figs. 168, 337.

¹⁵ Thus portraits of queens and aristocracy in the rock reliefs and the minor arts invariably show the hair dressed according to current fashions, see P. Horn, G. Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen* IV (Berlin 1891), p. 4, pl. II *passim*; Bivar, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, pls. 4–5, 7–8 *passim*; Hinz, *Altiranische Funde, op. cit.*, pls. 135, 136.

¹⁶ Bivar, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, p. 25; A. Ya. Borisov, V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskie gemmy* (Leningrad, 1963), no. 113–121. On the nude female form in Sassanian art, see Ghirshman, *Persian Art, op. cit.*, p. 214ff.; E. J. Keall, "Qal'eh-i Yazdigird," *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 5 (1967), pp. 113/114.

¹⁷ See below, notes 29–35. The "dancing" figures on the seals are shown with a scarf that blows over the head of the figure in a semicircular pattern, cf. Bivar, *Catalogue, op. cit.*, pls. 4–5, 7–8 *passim*; Borisov, Lukonin, *Sasanidskie gemmy, op. cit.*, no. 113–121 *passim*.

the western and eastern ramifications of this convention.¹⁸ The flying scarf on the Foroughi bowl is defined as a strip of drapery, with long vertical folds, that terminates in agitated wrinkles shown by broken lines and a band of triple triangles. The genesis of the convention, as observed by B.I. Marshak and Ya.K. Krikis in a different context, is confined to stylistic developments that first appear in Sassanian rock reliefs from the reign of Hormizd II, A.D. 302–305.¹⁹ Such stylistic considerations²⁰ would associate the Foroughi composition tentatively with a middle to late Sassanian date, or the fifth to sixth centuries.

The Theme and Its Interpretation

The four instrumentalists on the Foroughi bowl are placed within an arbor of fruitful vines that bloom in a garden situated on a mountain peak²¹ where abide a variety of land and water birds and beasts. This landscape, with its atmosphere of ideal opulence, is hardly a casual reference to an earthly haven; it corresponds rather to descriptions of a Zoroastrian paradise.²² Zoroastrian texts describe a celestial garden, fragrant with the sweet scent of trees, “full of crop, full of water, full of fruit and full of plenty, which is the heavenly land, wherefrom delight and a feeling of plenty come to the soul...”²³ This heavenly garden is *garōdmān*, the fourth and ultimate paradise, which was located on Mount Hara-berezaiti “where the sun rises, and upon which rests the abode of the gods.”²⁴

According to Zoroastrian belief, the journey of the soul (*ruwān*) of the departed in the next world was staged in several acts, one of which involved the soul’s encounter with his own deeds or conscience (*dēn*), the personification of which was determined by the nature of the soul’s accomplishments during his lifetime. The soul of the pious Zoroastrian encountered his *dēn* in the setting of a celestial arbor, “advancing to him in that [fragrant] wind, in the form of a maiden, beautiful, radiant, white-armed, robust, fair-faced, erect, high-breasted, of stately form, noble-born, of glorious lineage, fifteen years old in appearance, as beautiful in form as the

¹⁸ For an early use of this convention in Greek art and its implications, see E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964), p. 22, figs. 45, 49, and for its later use in Roman art, see Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate*, pl. 61; A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography, A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen Series XXXV: 10 (Princeton, 1967), p. 103, pl. 262; K. Wessel, *Coptic Art* (London, 1965), figs. 43, 87, 106, pl. XX. This convention was transmitted to Central Asia and India where it continued a different line of development, see M. Hallade, *Gandharan Art in North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia and Central Asia* (New York, 1963), pls. III, 169–170; J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967), fig. 76; *idem*, “The Ornamental Veil or Scarf,” *East and West* 15:1–2, 1965, 36–49.

¹⁹ B.I. Marshak, Ya.K. Krikis, “Chileksikie chashi,” *Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha X, Kul’tura i iskusstvo narodov vostoka* (Leningrad, 1969), p. 72.

²⁰ Late Roman parallels to the schematic rendering of grapes as globular forms and vine leaves as drop-shaped motifs are datable to the fourth and fifth centuries, cf. Strong, *Greek and Roman Silver Plate*, pl. 61. The use of such schematic renderings of grapes and vines also appears in Sassanian art from that date, cf. E. Porada, *Ancient Iran, The Art of Pre-Islamic Times* (Art of the World, 1965), p. 213, pl. 58. For Coptic parallels, see A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen Series XXXV: 10 (Princeton, 1967), p. 103, pl. 262; *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine Art* (London, 1958), p. 69, fig. 128.

²¹ Compare the superimposed trefoil motifs at the foot of the vines with the stylized mountain landscape shown in the same position on the Cleveland bowl, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* LI: 4 (1964), fig. 25.

²² Such concepts were so familiar as to have required little elaboration in Sassanian times, see I. Gershevitch, “Old Iranian Literature,” *Handbuch der Orientalistik IV, Iranistik II, Literature* (Leiden/Köln, 1968), p. 23, no. 34.

²³ *Zand-Ākāsib, Iranian or Greater Bundahishn*, transliteration and translation by B.T. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1956), chapter XXX: 12, 244, 259, also *The Bundahishn – Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2* ed. T.D. Anklesaria (Bombay, 1908) = GrBd, 201: 13 ff.; Hādōkht Nask (Yašt XXII: 7), in J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta II* (Sacred Books of the East, repr. 1965), pp. 315, 317. I wish to thank Dr. H. Mahamedi for helpful comments on these texts.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vendidad XIX: 30, J. Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta I*, p. 213, n. 6, p. 215.

most beautiful creatures.”²⁵ The maiden then identifies herself as the manifestation of the righteous soul’s own conscience and proceeds to conduct the soul to the summit of Hara-berezaiti,²⁶ “above the činwad bridge, she places it [the soul] in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves,” in the region of Endless Light or *garōdmān*.²⁷

The celestial aspect of the garden setting as well as the idealized nude female forms on the Foroughi bowl thus have religious significance if considered in the context of the Zoroastrian textual material. Long ago Arthur Upham Pope associated scenes of “Divine Abundance” in Persian art of the early Medieval period with a specific Iranian paradise. This observation was later elaborated upon by L.I. Ringbom²⁸ who further linked this paradise with the cult of the Iranian goddess Anāhita. Some attributes of the instrumentalists on the Foroughi bowl are shared by other representations that have given rise to differing interpretations. They have been linked variously with Anāhita or with priestesses of her cult,²⁹ with ritual dancers depicted under the arcade of fire temples,³⁰ with cult statues placed in circular temples of Anāhita,³¹ with Dionysiac processions,³² with a syncretic cult that combined the worship of Anāhita with that of Dionysos,³³ and finally with purely secular occasions.³⁴ While a secular intent must

²⁵ Hādōkht Nask (Yašt XXII: 9), *The Zend-Avesta* II., pp. 315–316; Vištāsp Yast VIII: 56 ff., *ibid.*, pp. 342–345. The translation from the Hādōkht Nask quoted here is given by Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgment* (New York, 1926, 1965), p. 34.

²⁶ Vendidad XIX: 30, *op. cit.*; *The Book of Arda Viraf, The Pahlavi Text*, ed. and transl. by Hoshangji Jamspeji Asa, M. Haug, E. W. West (Bombay/London, 1872), IV: 18 ff. The sequence of events in the righteous soul’s journey to *garōdmān* varied somewhat in the different texts; thus the encounter of the soul with his *dēn*, usually placed after judgment in the Zoroastrian texts takes place before that event in the Bundahišn and the Mēnōk ī Khrat, see Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of Future Life*, pp. 28–111, J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Religion de l’Iran ancien*, “Mana,” *Introduction à l’histoire des religions* (Paris, 1962), p. 332 ff. The latter brings attention to the similarity between the Zoroastrian personification of *dēn* and the Indian *apsaras* that appear to the deceased in his afterlife. For a Manichaean parallel to this myth, see W. B. Henning, “Sogdian Tales,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XI: 3 (1945), pp. 476–477. For a comparison between the Zoroastrian personification of *dēn* and the celestial maidens of the Muslim paradise (the Huri), see M. Haug, in *The book of Arda Viraf, op. cit.*, LXI, n. 1.

²⁷ Hādōkht Nask (Yašt XXII: 26 ff.), *The Zend-Avesta* II, *op. cit.*, p. 319, n. 1; *The book of Arda Viraf, op. cit.*, XVII: 12–27. For a review of the Zoroastrian literature on the manifestation of *Dānā* (*dēn*), see Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of Future Life*, Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Religion de l’Iran ancien*.

²⁸ A. U. Pope, “A Sasanian Garden Palace,” *The Art Bulletin* XV: 1 (1933), pp. 75–85; L. I. Ringbom, “Three Sassanian Bronze Salvers with Paridaeza Motifs,” *Survey* XIV, 1960, pp. 3029–3041.

²⁹ Orbeli, Trever, *Orfèvrerie sassanide*, above n. 5, no. 44–47; P. Ackerman, “Sasanian Seals,” *Survey* I, p. 808, fig. 281 C; *idem*, editorial comments in *Survey* I, p. 734 ff; V. G. Lukonin, *Persia II* (Archaeologia Mundi, 1967), pp. 181–182; K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, repr. (Mainz, 1969), p. 108.

³⁰ A. Strelkoff, “Iran and the Pre-Islamic Art of West Turkestan,” *Survey* I, p. 453.

³¹ C. Trever, “À propos des temples de la déesse Anahita en Iran sassanide,” *Iranica Antiqua* VII (1967), p. 127 ff.

³² Y. Godard, “Notes,” *Athar-e Iran, Annales du Service Archéologique de l’Iran* III: 2 (Paris, 1938), p. 291 ff.

³³ D. G. Shepherd, “Sasanian Art in Cleveland,” *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* LI: 4 (1964), p. 82 ff., and *ibid.*, LIII: 8 (1966), p. 301 ff; R. Ettinghausen, “A Persian Treasure,” *Arts in Virginia* (Virginia Museum, Fall-Winter 1967–1968), pp. 36–41.

³⁴ R. Ghirshman, “Scènes de banquet sur l’argenterie sassanide,” *Artibus Asiae* XVI (1953), p. 56 ff; *idem*, *Persian Art*, p. 214 ff; R. B. Bandinelli, “Forma artistica tardo antica...,” *Problemi attuali di Scienza e di Cultura: La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano* *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 76 (Roma, 1966), p. 330; B. I. Marshak, K. Krikis, “Chilekskie chashi,” *op. cit.*, above, n. 19, p. 69. The fact that the motif of the dancing female figure occasionally occurs on Parthian and Central Asian ossuaries argues for the funerary implication of the theme in that particular context. For a discussion of this motif in Central Asian art, see A. M. Belenitskiĭ, in *Skul’ptura i zhivopis’ drevnego Pyandzhikenta* (Moskva, 1959), 81–85.

In addition to the “dancing” figures that occur on Parthian and Central Asian ossuaries and sarcophagi, representations of female musicians in association with framed female busts, are now known from a Parthian glazed sarcophagus from Warka, see J. Schmidt, “Die Gräber der 27. Kampagne,” *Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Abhandlungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 16, Berlin 1972, 66 (no. 22360 A, Grave 278), pl. 29a.

be considered for many such representations,³⁵ the sharp differences in attributes and imagery observed in this group of representations can be explained by their different symbolic implications. The interpretation here proposed for the theme of the composition on the Foroughi bowl applies, therefore, to the specific composition in question, and may be modified to accommodate such derivative representations as those found on the Teheran and Cleveland vessels that appear to have conformed to the more eclectic or secular tastes of patrons of perhaps a later age.³⁶

The Attributes

The animals shown about the vines in the Foroughi composition are in themselves insufficient proof of its religious significance, for the same animals appear in both decorative and symbolic contexts both in Sassanian art and in the Byzantine west.³⁷ The fox, hare, dog (?) monkey, ducks and pheasants (?) that comprise the group on the bowl in question find parallels among representations on Sassanian seals and in the minor arts which may have had astrological and religious implications.³⁸ The Avesta describes five categories of animals that find nourishment in vegetation, the growth of which is promoted by the Fravashis, the Zoroastrian spirits of the dead.³⁹ The dog, which occupies a particularly prominent position among beneficent animals created by Ahura Mazda, is associated with several divinities and symbolic occasions⁴⁰ and is mentioned as a specific attribute of the personified conscience of the pious man.⁴¹ The fox, the only animal in the group with questionable allegiance, is both implicated as a creation of the evil spirit and vindicated as a countercreation against it.⁴² Despite its Ahri-manic associations the fox is, nevertheless, an occasional attribute of symbolic figures and is

³⁵ Ya.I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoe serebro. Atlas drevnei serebrianoi i zolotoi posudy vostochnogo proiskhozhdeniya naidennoi preimushchestvennogo v predelakh Rossiiskoi imperii, Arkheologicheskaya komissia* (S. Petersburg, 1909), no. 65, no. 93; F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), pl. 133; Ringbom, "Three Sassanian Bronze Salvers...", *Survey* I, p. 3029, fig. 1092. Instrumentalists and other functionaries sometimes appear together within a setting of fruitful trees, flowering plants with birds and animals, cf. Orbeli, Trever, *Orfèvrerie sasanide*, no. 11, no. 12, no. 16, no. 18, no. 37; Godard, in *Athar-e Iran*, *op. cit.*, figs. 198, 200–203.

³⁶ On the secular function of music, see M. Boyce, "The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1–2 (1957), pp. 10–45.

³⁷ For a secular context, see O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work*, third edition (London, 1964), no. 209; Ghirshman, "Scènes de banquet sur l'argenterie sassanide," above, n. 34. For symbolic interpretations of animal representations in Sassanian art, see A. U. Pope, "Sāsānian Stucco," *Survey* I, p. 639ff; P. Ackerman, "Some Problems of Early Iconography," *Survey* I, p. 879ff. In the west animal representations are associated with Dionysiac and Christian symbolism as well as with purely secular references, cf. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities*, *op. cit.*, above, n. 6, pp. 4–6, pls. VI–VII, no. 2.

³⁸ Horn, Steindorff, *Sassanidsche Siegelsteine*, above, n. 15, p. 11, pl. III: no. 1303, no. 1341 (fox); no. 1328, no. 1330, no. 1335 (hare); p. 14, pl. IV: no. 1463, no. 1465, no. 1467 (pheasant); Ackerman, "Sāsānian seals," *Survey* I, pp. 799, 803, pl. 256RR (dog), p. 809, pl. 256NN (hare), pp. 796, 809 (birds); Borisov, Lukonin, *Sasanidskie gemmy*, *op. cit.*, no. 576, no. 578 (duck), p. 36 (dog, bird); Bivar, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, above, n. 8, pp. 26–27, EK 2 (dog), GD 1–GD 8 (hare), DZ 1 (fox), HA 1–HA 10 (pheasant), HH 2 (duck), GA 1–GA 4 (monkey). For the funerary implications of the motif of the monkey associated with grapes, see the study of this subject in connection with terra cottas from Khotan in N.V. D'yakonova and S.S. Sorokin, "Khotanskaya terrakotovaya vaza," *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* IX, Leningrad 1956, 49–51 (Inv. no. GA–2721).

³⁹ Farvardin Yašt I:10, XI: 43–44, *The Zend-Avesta* II, pp. 182, 190–191.

⁴⁰ *The Zend-Avesta* I, *op. cit.*, LXXII–LXXIII, Vendidad VI: 29ff, and XIII; Bundahishn, XXIV: 48–51.

⁴¹ Vendidad XIX: 30, *The Zend-Avesta* I, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁴² Bundahishn, XXIII: 2, XXIV: 39.

traditionally connected with vintage scenes of ultimately Hellenistic origin.⁴³ As a ubiquitous artistic formula for the expression of natural fecundity, the vine and the fox are perhaps as relevant to a terrestrial paradise as to a conceptual one.

The musical instruments carried by the performers on the Foroughi bowl—a type of lute, a trumpet and two percussion instruments—though known to have been in existence in Sassanian times are rarely, if ever, recorded in Sassanian works of art. The Bundahišn includes in the *vin* category of instruments the *barbūt*, the *tanbūr*, and the *chang*.⁴⁴ Fundamentally different from the harps (*chang*),⁴⁵ the *barbūt* and *tanbūr* were the Persian instruments *par excellence* in Sassanian and early Muslim times. The *barbūt*,⁴⁶ a lute with a hollow neck, served as the musical accompaniment to the poetry and song of such virtuosi as Bārbad, the court minstrel of Khusro II, who was remembered as much for his musical improvisations as for his subtle poetry.⁴⁷ This instrument is familiar from representations in early Medieval art;⁴⁸ its origin has been sought in ancient Western Asia⁴⁹ where the older type survived into Parthian times. Various forms of the *barbūt* appear in Bactria, Gandhara and India from whence the instrument was presumably transmitted to Central Asia and the Far East (Chin. *p'i-pa*, Jap. *biwa*).⁵⁰

Distinguished from the *barbūt* by its long neck, the Pahlavi *tambūr*⁵¹ (the pandore) had evolved from a more primitive type known in Egypt and Western Asia from at least the second millennium B.C.⁵² Parthian representations of the *tambūr* suggest the continuity of the older

⁴³ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, no. 209, Godard, in *Atbar-e Iran*.

⁴⁴ Bundahišn, XX: B.

⁴⁵ In his study of Sassanian musical instruments, H.G. Farmer distinguished between the *chang* and *vin* which he defined as upper- and lower-chested harps respectively, see *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (Glasgow, 1939), p. 73 ff. On the more general application of the term *vin*, see C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), p. 224 ff.; A.K. Coomaraswamy, "The old Indian *vinā*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51:1 (1931), pp. 47–50.

⁴⁶ Pers. *barbat*, later barbitone or mandore, Arab. *'ūd*.

⁴⁷ H.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London/Leipzig, 1909), pp. 15–18; *idem*, "The sources of Dawlatshāh...", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1899), p. 54 ff.; Farmer, *Studies*, pp. 88–89; *idem*, "An outline history of Music and musical theory," *Survey* III, p. 2787 ff.; *idem*, "Persian music," *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* VI (London, 1954), pp. 676–677; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, *Annales de Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études* 48 (Copenhagen/Paris, 1936), p. 478 ff.

⁴⁸ Farmer, *Studies*, *op. cit.*; cf. Smirnov, *Vostochnoe serebro*, no. 64, no. 65.

⁴⁹ Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, p. 160. On the earliest references to the three stringed instrument in the ancient Near East, see Anne D. Kilmer, "The Strings of Musical Instruments: their Names, Numbers, and Significance," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, *Assyriological Studies* 16, *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 261 ff.

⁵⁰ Parthian: W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, University of Michigan Humanistic Series XLV (Ann Arbor, 1939), p. 25, pl. XXXVIII, nos. 553, 559. Bactria: cf. clay figure from Khalchayan, Soviet Uzbekistan, see G.A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan, k probleme kbudozhestvennoi kul'tury severnoi Baktrii* (Tashkent, 1966), pl. XIV. A similar lute with a waisted sound-chest is shown on the limestone frieze from Airtam-Termez, on the Oxus, A.D. I–II cent., see A. Benlitsky, *Central Asia* (Archaeologia Mundi, 1968), fig. 46. This example may be an early form of the *rubāb* (different from Arab. *rabāb*) mentioned in the *Shāhnāma*, see Farmer, *Studies*, *op. cit.*, p. 81. Gandhara and India: C. Marcel-Dubois, *Les Instruments de musique de l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1941), pp. 87–91, pl. XIV; Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, *op. cit.*, p. 159 ff.; Coomaraswamy, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51:1 (1931), pl. following p. 50. Central Asia and the Far East: Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–191; Farmer, *Studies*, pp. 3–17; L.E.R. Picken, "T'ang Music and Musical Instruments," *T'oung Pao* LV: 1–3 (Leiden, 1969), p. 107 ff. For a detailed study of the history of the musical instruments of Central Asia, see R.L. Sadokov, *Muz'kal'naya kul'tura drevnego Khorezma* (Moskva, 1970). I am grateful to Dr. Boris Staviskii for drawing my attention to this important publication.

⁵¹ J.M. Unvala, *Der Pahlavi Text*, "Der König Husrav und sein Knabe" (Wien, 1917), pp. 16:13, 28:62.

⁵² Pers. *tanbūr*, *rūd*; Farmer, *Studies*, p. 79; Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, pp. 82–83, 102–103; E.D. van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria*, Yale Oriental Series Researches XVI (New Haven/London, 1930), no. 1170 (Kish), no. 1173, fig. 288, no. 1171–1172 (Susa).

type which was gradually perfected to become the elegant fretted instrument with two to five strings known as the Persian *tār*.⁵³ The stringed instrument shown on the vessel (pls. 2–3) is not a *barbūt*, but a *tambūr* with a small oval body, a long fretted neck and two pairs of lateral pegs which suggest its identification as a Sassanian *čārtār* (four strings), of which no other illustration apparently survives from the Sassanian period.⁵⁴ Outmoded in the ninth century, the *čārtār* was evidently reintroduced in the Safavid era.⁵⁵

A second instrumentalist in the composition blows a long curved trumpet with spiral ridges which indicate that a long animal horn was intended (pls. 2–3). This trumpet, which is recorded elsewhere in Sassanian art, was probably the *šaiṭūr* of the *Šāhnāma*, a term that appears to have been derived from the Aramaic *šōpārā* in the Parthian period.⁵⁶ The performers on the *čārtār* and *šaiṭūr* are accompanied by the beat of two percussion instruments.⁵⁷ A pair of chestnut-shaped castanets (*castaña*) are held, like the modern Spanish *castañuelas*, between each thumb and forefinger of one of the percussionists (pls. 2–3). These cymbal-castanets, perhaps the *zīl* of Sassanian times (Chin. *sing*), existed in Coptic Egypt and their antecedents are recorded in representations of the Dionysiac ritual in Greek art and in actual examples from Western Asia. The same instrument is perhaps shown in the hands of the female figure represented among the male instrumentalists on a Parthian ivory rhyton from Nisa.⁵⁸ The fourth instrumentalist on the vessel carries in each hand a pair of cymbals on clappers, or *frame cymbals* (pls. 2–3). This instrument combines a frame in the shape of a pair of thongs furnished with small cymbals which sounded when the hands were clapped together. Identified as the *chaghāna* of Medieval sources, such cymbals are represented on various silver dishes and on a Sassanian seal in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁵⁹ Frame cymbals, different from boot-shaped clappers or long castanets such as those held by figures on some later silver dishes,⁶⁰ are known from actual examples and representations from Coptic Egypt and have prototypes in Western Asia.⁶¹ The iconographic parallels with Coptic art would corroborate the foregoing stylistic conclusions and placeographic considerations which indicate a middle to late Sassanian date for the Foroughi composition.⁶²

⁵³ Van Buren, *op. cit.*, no. 1174–1175 (Babylon), no. 1176–1177 (Nippur, Baghdad); van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia*, p. 25, nos. 546–567, pls. XXXV–XXXIX.

⁵⁴ Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, pp. 255–257; Farmer, *Studies*, p. 61 ff.

⁵⁵ Farmer, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 679; *idem*, *Studies*, pp. 34, 89–90.

⁵⁶ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, no. 211; E. Gerson-Kiwi, "Musique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément V, L. Pirot, A. Robert (Paris, 1957), p. 141 ff.

⁵⁷ For a modern parallel to the limited use of instruments in Persian musical performances, see M. Foroughi, "Some Observations on Persian Music," *Survey XIX* (1960), p. 3196.

⁵⁸ Masson, Pugachenkova, *Parfyanskije rytomy Nisy*, *op. cit.*, above, n. 14, pl. LXXII; J. Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, The British Museum* (London, 1969), pp. 44, 47, pl. XXI. Unvala, *Der Pahlavi Text*, *op. cit.*, above, n. 51, p. 29; Farmer, *Studies*, pp. 14, 84; Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, pp. 103, 149; M. Courant, "Chine et Corée," *Encyclopédie de la Musique I*, A. Lavignac (Paris, 1921), p. 146, no. 21, fig. 168.

⁵⁹ Smirnov, *Vostochnoe serebro*, no. 78; Ackerman, "Sasanian Seals," *Survey I*, p. 814, pl. 256 UU; *Survey IV*, pl. 221 B; Farmer, *Studies*, p. 84.

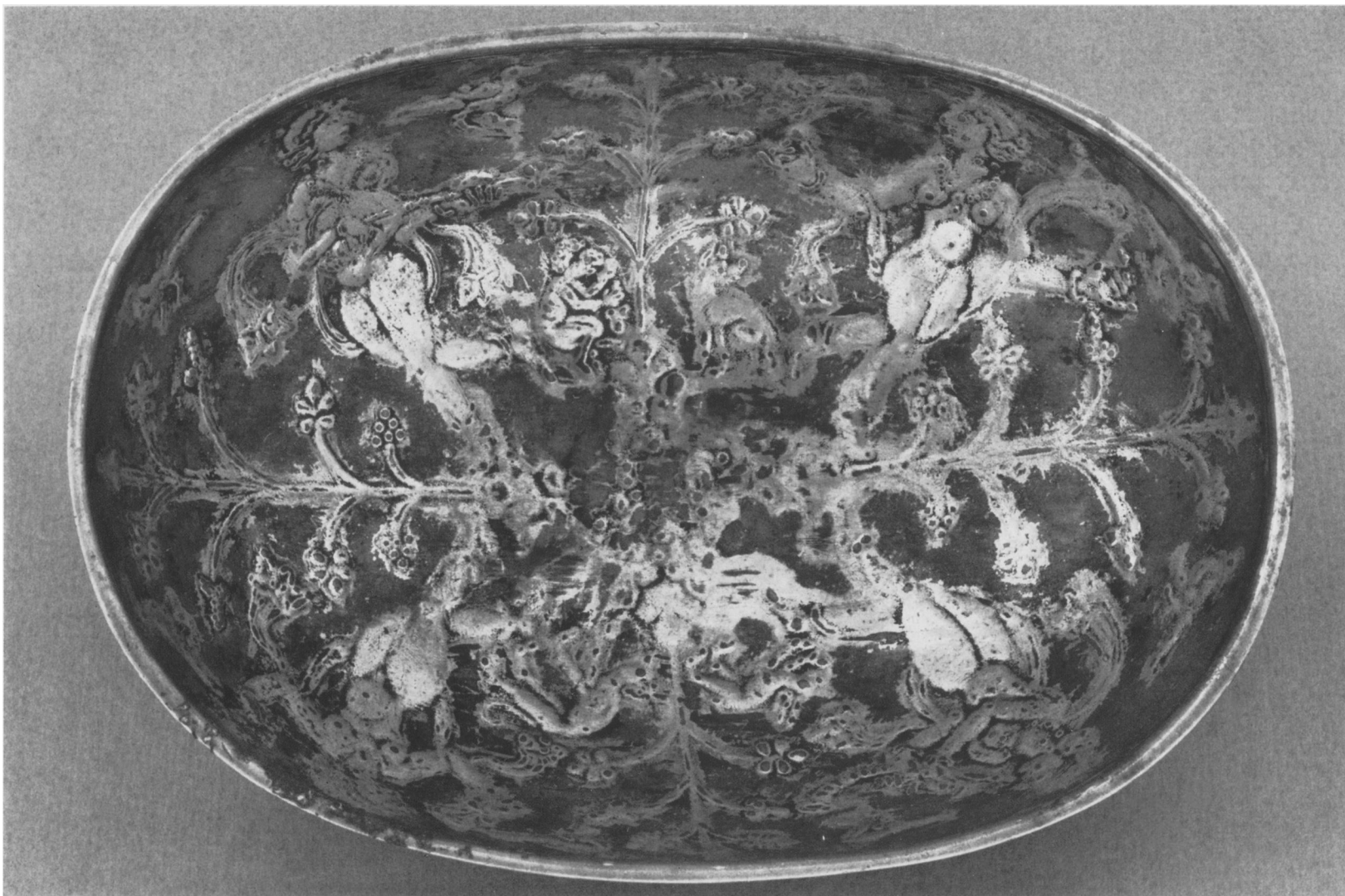
⁶⁰ *Survey IV*, pl. 230 A; Smirnov, *Vostochnoe serebro*, no. 56, a closer parallel to the boot-shaped *krótala* of ultimately Greek origin found in Coptic Egypt, cf. G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (London, 1963), figs. 444, 445. For actual Egyptian examples, see B. Loret, "Egypte," *Encyclopédie de la Musique I*, A. Lavignac (Paris, 1921), pp. 708, figs. 16–19. These examples measure 30–35 cm in length, the metal cymbals are 6–7 cm in diameter.

⁶¹ Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments*, p. 103; R. D. Barnett, "Hamath and Nimrud," *Iraq 25* (1963), pp. 81–85; Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments*, p. 40, figs. 11–12.

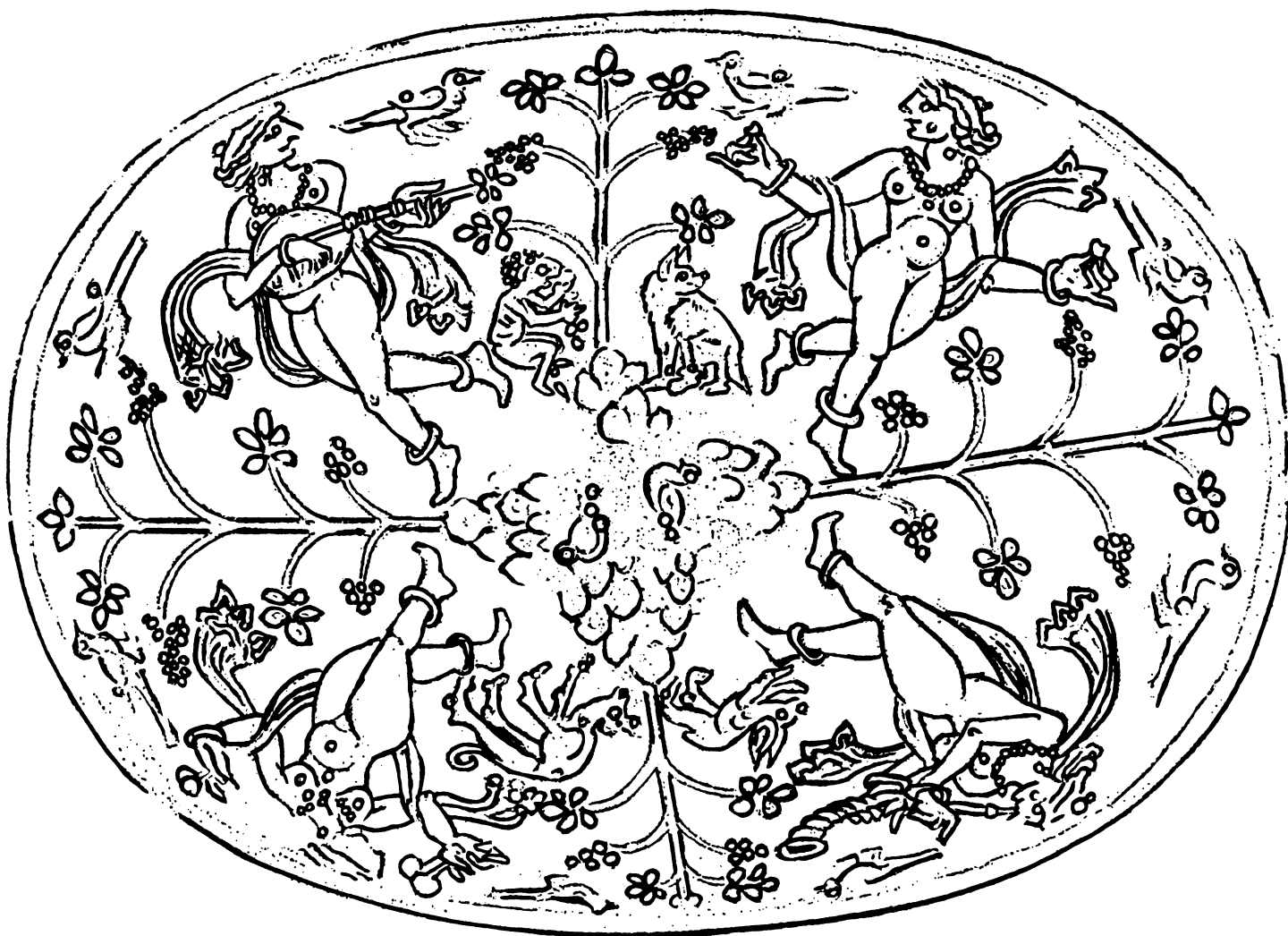
⁶² Noted by S. Shaked in his study of the inscription.



Pl. 1 Sassanian boat-shaped silver bowl in the *Collection of M. Foroughi*. Photo courtesy the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Height 5.5 cm, length 18.2 cm, breadth 12.2 cm, weight 360 gr.



Pl. 2 The interior of the boat-shaped bowl in the *Collection of M. Foroughi*, worked in *repoussé* and provided with a mercury gilded surface. Photo courtesy the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.



Pl. 3 Sketch made of the design on the interior of the boat-shaped bowl in the *Collection of M. Foroughi*, see pl. 2.

The musical instruments that comprise the attributes of the female figures on the Foroughi bowl might be expected to hold a key to the identification of the figures. Indeed, music had a prescribed role in Zoroastrian religious ritual where Avestan hymns were sung and recited to the accompaniment of stringed instruments.⁶³ But as the ultimate goal of the righteous soul's journey in the next world, the resplendent *garōdmān* was regarded as the "House of Song" and a source of sweet music (*niwāg ī xwaš*) whence the soul derived joy and delight (*huniyāgih ud rāmišn*).⁶⁴ Thus the felicitous implications of music, expressed in graphic terms by the instruments represented on the Foroughi bowl, would seem to fulfill the joyful quality claimed as an attribute by the personified *dēn* of the pious soul in the Zoroastrian texts.⁶⁵

⁶³ *Bundahišn*, cited above, n. 23, XX: B. The chanting of the Gāthās ranked first among the meritorious deeds of the pious Zoroastrian, see *The Book of Arda Viraf*, cited above, n. 26, IV: 15–23; Yašt XXII: 7ff. (Hādōkht Nask), *The Zend-vesta* II, cited above, n. 23, p. 315. That Middle Persian verse-texts in Pahlavi script were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments has found confirmation in the discovery of cantillated Middle Persian Manichaean verse-texts that display the use of the same metrical principles, see A. Machabey, "La cantillation manichéenne," *La Revue Musicale* 227 (Paris, 1955), pp. 1–22; Boyce, "The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian minstrel tradition," *op. cit.*, above, n. 36, pp. 39–40. For evidence of the musical accompaniment of hymns on ancient Mesopotamia, see Anne D. Kilmer, "The discovery of an ancient Mesopotamian theory of music," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115: 2, 1971, 142ff.

⁶⁴ *Bundahišn*, 224:97a (GrBd 190:9ff.); Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, pp. 54–55; H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Ratanbai Katrak Lectures (Oxford, 1943), pp. 113–114.

⁶⁵ Hādōkht Nask (Yašt XXII: 11), *The Zend-Avesta* II, p. 316; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 336. See also P. Gignoux, "L'enfer et la paradis d'après les sources pehlevies," *Journal Asiatique* CCLVI, 1968, 219–245.

NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTION ON THE FOROUGHI BOWL

By Shaul Shaked, Jerusalem

Boat-shaped bowl, no. 799 (Sept mille ans d'art en Iran, cat.).

The style of writing on this bowl is characteristic of the late Sassanian and early Islamic period. The wording of the inscription is familiar from many such bowls:¹ the name of the owner is given first, and it is followed by an indication of the weight of the object. The proposed reading is as follows:

l't NPŠH MN xx xx xx x ZWZN 2

"Property of Rād. (Made) of 92 drachmae."

The Iranian Rād is attested at least once in the sources.²

The actual weight of the bowl is 360 gr. The weight of one drachmae is accordingly $360:92 = 3.9141$, which

¹ Cf. W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 22 (1959), pp. 132f.

² A single reference in a Syriac source: cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (1895), p. 256.

is well within the established weight of drachmae in the Sassanian period. There are some other instances of the term *ZWZN* “drachmae” coming after the indication of tens and before that of units.³ It does not seem therefore necessary to argue that what looks like the figure “2” at the end should be regarded as standing, somewhat carelessly, for *sng* “weight”, to complete the frequent designation *dra(h)m-sang*.⁴

There has been some misunderstanding of the combination of figures which designate units of twenty and ten, as they occur on the present bowl. Herzfeld proposed reading such combinations as *kāsak*, allegedly meaning “weight”.*

³ E.g. the rhyton in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no.64.96, published by Dorothy G. Shepherd, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 33:8 (October 1966), pp.289–317; the figures of the inscription read by W.B. Henning and R.N. Frye, 50 *ZWZN* 3, cf. *ibid.*, p.315, n.4. The reading of the inscription on Ya. I. Smirnov, *Argenterie orientale* (see above n.35), No.56 (pl.28) and No.87 (pl.53), discussed by E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4 (1932), pp.154–155, R. Ghirshman, *BSOAS* 13 (1949/51), pp.916ff, is doubtful, particularly as the actual weight of the objects is unknown, but it is possible that they also have a similar structure of figures.

⁴ For this expression, cf. W.B. Henning, “Mitteliranische,” *Handbuch der Orientalistik* I:4, i (Leiden, 1958), pp.49–50, with reference to Smirnov, *op.cit.*, No.61 (pl.33). The expression occurs, spelled *ZWZNsng*, in Smirnov, *op.cit.*, No.62 (pl.34).

⁵ *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 4 (1932), pp.154–156; also *idem*, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1938), p.231.

* The above article was written in 1970, and sent to Dr. R.N. Frye in October of that year, for publication in the *A.U. Pope Memorial Volume*. Subsequent discussions of the inscription have not been referred to.



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NANĀ, THE SUMERO-AKKADIAN GODDESS OF TRANSOXIANA*

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A review of references to the cult of Nanā, or Nanaia, in Mesopotamian sources, covering the period between the third millennium B.C. and Sassanian times, reveals the cult to have remained remarkably syncretic. As Ištar's counterpart, Nanā later appears not only as a daughter of the moon-god Sin and sister of the sun-god Šamaš, but also under different guises and with different names. The cult of Nanā spread from the Iranian plateau to the east Iranian world in Transoxiana where it survived until the Muslim conquest. The ascendancy and prevalence of the cult of Nanā in the early medieval east Iranian world is attributed to the syncretic nature of that cult which combined the functions of the Sumero-Akkadian Nanā with those of the Iranian goddess Ārmaiti. The transference of the creative and chthonic aspects of the Iranian earth spirit to the regional cult of Nanā thus led to Nanā's association with the funerary and dynastic cults of Transoxiana.

My Lady, Sin, Inanna, born of . . . , similarly (?) / I
am the same (?)
Wise daughter of Sin, beloved sister of Šamas, I am
powerful in Borsippa,
I am a hierodule in Uruk, I have heavy breasts in
Daduni,
I have a beard in Babylon, still I am Nanā.

Ur, Ur, temple of the great gods, similarly (?).
They call me the Daughter of Ur, the Queen of Ur, the
daughter of princely Sin, she who goes around and
enters every house,
holy one who holds the ordinances; she takes away
the young man in his prime, she removes the young
girl from her bedchamber—still I am Nanā.¹

THAT THE EXTENSIVE TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY claimed for the ancient Mesopotamian goddess Nanā in this Sumero-Akkadian hymn influenced the regional manifestations of that goddess, is explicitly stated in this translation of a recently published Late Assyrian literary composition. That the goddess's spiritual domain and her imagery found even greater ramifications in subsequent centuries, is now documented by recent archaeo-

logical evidence uncovered in Soviet Central Asia. It now appears that the worship of Nanā eventually spread beyond the Near East and the Iranian plateau, to Bactria and Transoxiana where the goddess played a leading role in the local pantheons of the east Iranian world. The contention of the present paper is that Nanā's cult and manifestations prevailed in Transoxiana because the Mesopotamian goddess was there equated with an equally powerful Iranian deity.

A brief review of the Mesopotamian sources reveals the syncretic nature of the cult of Nanā, or Nanaia.² In the Third Dynasty of Ur the goddess appeared to combine the qualities of Inanna with those of Ištar.³ In an Old Babylonian hymn Nanā's father An, is said to have elevated her to the position of a supreme goddess,⁴ which presumably symbolized the ratification of her superlative qualities. The Sumero-Akkadian hymn quoted above, gives a description of the goddess under her different names, in various cities and temples, and the names of her different husbands in the Late Assyrian period.⁵ Nanā's attributes, noted in that hymn, were those of Ištar, daughter

² *Ibid.*, note 8.

³ D. O. Edzard, "Mesopotamien, die Mythologie der Sumerer und Akkader," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I:1, ed. H. W. Haussig, 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Reiner, "A Sumero-Akkadian hymn to Nanā," *op. cit.*, 223, notes the *limmu* year for Text C, as 744 or 734 B.C.

* A summary of this paper was read at the 128th meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 1975, at Columbus, Ohio. I wish to thank Professor Marvin Pope for inviting discussion on the subject of this paper and for his helpful suggestions.

¹ Erica Reiner, "A Sumero-Akkadian hymn to Nanā," *JNES* 33 (1975), 221-236.

of the moon-god Sin and sister of the sun-god Šamaš. Her manifestations ranged from a bearded Ištar in Babylon, to a goddess with heavy breasts in Daduni.

In the Hellenistic period Nanā was frequently assimilated with the Greek Artemis in Mesopotamia. A temple of Artemis-Nanā was built in the middle of the city of Dura-Europos in Roman times where a dedicatory inscription identified Nanā as the chief goddess of that city.⁶ Images of Aphrodite, winged victory, and Tyche or Fortuna which were erected in the temple of Nanā at Dura, indicate that the celestial Mesopotamian Nanā combined the functions of all those Graeco-Roman divinities.⁷ A mold-made bust of Nanā (fig. 1), depicted inside a lead patera found in



Figure 1

Bust of Nanā depicted inside a lead patera from the temple of Artemis-Nanaia, at Dura-Europos, 2. to 3. centuries A.D. Sketched from Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* pl. LXXXV: 1. Diam. of patera, 8 cm.

her sanctuary at Dura, and dated to the second or third centuries A.D., shows her with a bejewelled crown and encircled by a laurel wreath which identify her as a goddess of fecundity and war.⁸

⁶ F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-1923), *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* IX, Paris 1926, 196ff.; P. Koschaker, "Ausgrabungen in Dura-Europos," *OLZ* 33 (1930), 166-168.

⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 198-199.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 206ff. pl. LXXXV:1. The patera which measures 8 cm in diameter, was discovered in the "chapel of Aphrodite" in the Artemis-Nanā sanctuary at Dura. I

The cult of Nanā was widespread in the Euphrates valley in Hellenistic and Roman times;⁹ it apparently survived there as late as the seventh century.¹⁰

At Susa, where the cult of Nanā had been introduced from Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B.C., Nanā's worship continued into the Seleucid age when the goddess was named as the principal deity of that city.¹¹ However, despite her importance among the native population of Susa, Nanā is not named on Seleucid coins from Susa.¹² Whereas Greek gods occupied an exclusive position in the official cult of the Seleucids, oriental divinities with whom they were assimilated at an early date, reappeared in the official pantheon of the city of Susa in the Parthian period. Thus Nanā's astral aspect and her function as a city goddess were assumed by Artemis with whom Nanā was assimilated at Susa in the Parthian period. The rayed halo and polos crown of Artemis represented on coins of Mithradates II, issued around 110 B.C. at Susa (fig. 2), thus transferred Nanā's functions to the syncretic cult of Artemis-Nanā.¹³ An image of Artemis in Greek dress, depicted on a tessera from Palmyra, actually identifies the Greek huntress goddess as Nanaia (NNY).¹⁴

wish to thank Dawn Pencovic for the preparation of the sketches used for this paper.

⁹ J. G. Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris 1931, 99-102; K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, *Studia Orientalia* 7 (1938), 385-6. On references to Nanā, the Lady, in inscriptions from Assur, see J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thèses sémitiques à l'époque romaine*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* XCII, Paris 1972, 148, 347. I wish to thank Professor Marvin Pope for drawing my attention to the above references.

¹⁰ Nanā was invoked as late as 600 A.D. in an incantation text from Nippur, see J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic incantation texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, 238.

¹¹ For a detailed analysis of the iconography of Artemis-Nanā at Susa and Elymais, see G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* XXXVIII, Paris 1965, 292ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, 294.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 296, no. 129. The radiate halo appears about the same time on the coins of Hyspaosines of Characene, *ibid.*, no. 409.

¹⁴ H. Ingholt et al., *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* LVIII, Paris 1955, 40, no. 285.



Figure 2

Obverse of a bronze coin of the Parthian king Mithardates II, from Susa, ca. 110 B.C., showing a radiate head of Artemis-Nanâ. Sketched from Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, pl. XIII, 131,5. Weight 1.49 g.

Bronze coins of the kings of Elymais, probably issued at Susa after the establishment of Parthian rule at Elymais and at Susa, depict Artemis-Nanâ as a frontal or profile head with a radiate halo or polos, or as a complete figure dressed in the fashion of a Greek huntress with or without the radiate halo, and occasionally with a crescent by her side (fig. 3).¹⁵ Nanâ was frequently depicted



Figure 3

Obverse of a bronze coin of a king of Elymais, showing Artemis-Nanâ as a huntress in Greek dress, ca. 75 A.D. Sketched from Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, pl. LXXIII, 27. Much enlarged.

¹⁵ Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, *op. cit.*, pls. 75:15-17, 20-21, 23-24, 36; 74:4-6 (head of Artemis-Nanâ), see p. 428.

in her oriental aspect without reference to her assimilation with Artemis in representations of the second century A.D. and later, as evidenced by the inscribed stone image of the goddess from Hatra (fig. 4), in the Baghdad museum.¹⁶



Figure 4

Inscribed stone image of Nanâ from Hatra, in the Baghdad Museum, ca. 100 A.D. Sketched from Fukai, *East and West* 1960, fig. 24.

The cult of Nanâ which even reached Athens and Alexandria in the west,¹⁷ also spread to Armenia, the Iranian plateau and the remote east.¹⁸

¹⁶ S. Fukai, "The artifacts of Hatra and Parthian art," *East and West* VIII, 1960, 164, fig. 24. Nanâ's image also occurs on a pithos from Assur datable to the 2. to 3. centuries A.D., see H. Ingholt, *Parthian sculpture from Hatra, Memoirs of the Connecticut academy of arts and sciences* XII, New Haven 1954, 12ff., fig. 5. A radiate and enthroned image of Nanâ is depicted on the stone relief of Kamnaskires Orodos of Elymais, at Tang-i-Sarvak, datable to ca. 100 A.D., see W. B. Henning, "The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i-Sarvak," *Asia major* 2 (1952), 151-8, pls. II-III.

¹⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 197, note 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, 60ff., 74-5, 85, 92; K. V. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii kul'tury drevnei Armenii, (II v. do n. é.-IV v. n. é.)*, Moskva/Leningrad 1953, 83.

In Bactria where Nanâ was not assimilated with Artemis, the iconography of the goddess remained strictly Near Eastern. The Kushan NANA whose image and symbols appear on Kushan coins of the second to the fourth century, was modelled after the Mesopotamian Nanâ who was the iconographic prototype for several female divinities of the Indo-Iranian pantheon.¹⁹ Thus the Iranian Anâhita, who was ultimately a river goddess, later assumed the functions and manifestations of the Mesopotamian Nanâ.²⁰

In the religious imagery of Transoxiana, where Indian iconographic patterns frequently prevailed, Nanâ's manifestations took the form of a four-armed goddess seated on a lion throne, or astride a lion. The lion vehicle of Istar which had been assumed by the Mesopotamian Nanâ, thus survived as the principal attribute of the goddess down to the Muslim conquest of Transoxiana.²¹ The appearance of the name of Nanâ and Nanaeophorous names in Sogdian sources and coins, testify to the importance of that goddess in the pre-Islamic Sogdian pantheon.²² The earliest Sogdian re-

presentation of Nanâ occurs in a sixth century mural that depicts a scene of mourning, uncovered in a public sanctuary dedicated to a native funerary cult, in the town of Panjikent.²³ Other Sogdian representations of the goddess, datable to the seventh and eighth centuries, are known in carved wood, and in murals uncovered at Panjikent and in Ustrushana.²⁴ The better preserved images from the east Sogdian principality of Ustrushana, portray the four-armed goddess with the symbols of the sun and the moon held in her two raised hands. A scepter and a cup are usually held in the other two hands of the deity who is there shown astride a lion (fig. 5) in one instance, and seated on a lion-throne in another.²⁵

The representation of similar images of the goddess Nanâ on seventh century Khwarezmian silver dishes testify to the currency of the cult of Nanâ throughout Transoxiana in early medieval times (fig. 6).²⁶ The symbols and attributes of the early medieval Sogdian and Khwarezmian images of Nanâ, though influenced by Indian formal models, furthermore, indicate that the goddess preserved both her early Mesopotamian affiliation with the sun and the moon, and her identity as a love and war deity. The question now at issue is why the Mesopotamian Nanâ was accorded the position of a superlative creative power in an otherwise predominantly Iranian pantheon.²⁷ I postulate that in early medieval Transoxiana, as in the ancient Near East, Nanâ's cult was a syncretic one, and that her qualities were

¹⁹ For a review of the literature on this question, see J. Rosenfield, *The dynastic arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967, 83-91.

²⁰ L. H. Gray, *The foundations of Iranian religions*, Ratanbai Katrak Lectures, R. R. Cama Oriental Institute publications 5, Bombay, 55ff.; Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, op. cit., 113ff.; cf. the Indian goddess with a lute and a lion vehicle which is tentatively identified as Sarasvati, see A. Foucher, "L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra," *L'École française d'Extrême-Orient* VI:1, Paris 1918, 66ff.; J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography*, Calcutta 1956, 376ff.

²¹ For a review of the literature on the motif of the goddess with a lion vehicle, see H. Mobius, "Die Göttin mit dem Löwen," *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 449-468; Ingholt, *Parthian sculptures from Hatra*, op. cit., 18ff., 23, pls. IV:1-3, 5, IV:2. On the lion vehicle in the art of early medieval Transoxiana, see B. I. Marshak, in *Trudy tadzhikskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii, Akademiya nauk SSSR, Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, 124, 1964, 237-240, note 240.

²² O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pyandzhikent*, Moskva 1963, notes 356-363; W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, London 1940, 7; idem, "A Sogdian god," *BSOAS* 28 (1965), 252; D. Weber, "Zu sogdischen Personen-namen," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 77 (1972), 198-9. I wish to thank Professor Martin Schwartz for drawing my attention to the last reference.

²³ A. Yu. Yakubovskii, et al., *Zhivopis' drevnego Pyandzhikenta*, Moskva 1954, pls. XIX, XXIII; G. Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, Acta Iranica* 1975.

²⁴ A. M. Belenitski, "Nouvelles découvertes de sculptures et de peintures murales a Piandjikent," *Arts asiatiques* V:3, 1958, figs. 5-6; idem, *Monumenta'noe iskusstvo Pendzhikenta*, Moskva 1973, passim; N. Megmatov, "O zhivopis'nykh dvortsa afshinov Ustrushany," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 3, 1973, fig. 5, 8.

²⁵ N. Megmatov, V. S. Sokolovskii, in *Soobshcheniya gosudarstvennogo Érmitazha XXXVII*, Leningrad 1973, 58-60, figs. 2-3.

²⁶ S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnei Khorezm, Opyt istoriko-arkheologicheskogo issledovaniya*, Moskva 1948, 198, 200; G. Azarpay, "Nine inscribed Choresmian bowls," *Artibus Asiae* 31 (1969), 186ff.

²⁷ Henning, "A Sogdian god," op. cit., 242-254; Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," op. cit.



Figure 5

Sketch of a Sogdian representation of a four-armed Nanâ, from Shahrīstan, Ushrushana, 7. to 8. centuries A.D. Negmatov, *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 3, 1974, fig. 8.

there combined with those of a local Iranian goddess. But since Iranian pictorial models were lacking, the Mesopotamian Nanâ's iconography modified by Indian and Central Asian patterns, prevailed in the imagery of the syncretized cult image.

Nanâ's Iranian counterpart was the goddess Ārmaiti, the Avestan Spenta Ārmaiti, who was assigned superlative creative power in the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian pantheon. In the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian pantheon, Ārmaiti, as earth, formed a pair with the sky god Ahura. But following the elevation of the latter to the rank of supreme god of the Zoroastrian church, Ārmaiti's position declined to that of the daughter of the sky god.²⁸

²⁸ Gray, *The foundations of Iranian religions*, op. cit., 47ff; E. Benveniste, *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts*, Paris 1929, 63ff; H. W. Bailey,



Figure 6

A Khwarezmian representation of a four-armed Nanâ, from a seventh century silver bowl in the British Museum. Sketched from Azarpay, *Artibus Asiae* 1969, pl. 2. Diam. of bowl, 12.7 cm.

Whereas the earliest Avestan hymns, the Gāthās, invoke Spenta Ārmaiti as an abstract concept meaning "rightful thought," both post-Gāthic Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian Iranian sources refer to Ārmaiti in the sense of "earth."²⁹ Pahlavi sources which identify Ārmaiti as earth, describe her as mother of mankind, creator of cattle, and genius of cultivated land.³⁰ As earth, Ārmaiti was also responsible for the spirits of regions, frontiers, stations, settlements and districts, and looked to their proper government and admini-

Indo-Scythian studies, Khotanese texts IV, Cambridge 1961, 12; idem, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, Oxford 1943, 52; idem, "Saka śśāndrāmata," *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 136-143.

²⁹ Yasna 38.1-2, Yasna 42.3; Vendidad, Fargard II.20ff, and Fargard XVIII.108; Bundahiš 15.1; Zātspram 10.3; Bahman Yašt 2.8; Šāyast-lā šāyast 13.14, 15.20-24; Sad Dar 33.2, 45.5. On the identification of Ārmaiti as earth in both Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian sources, see H. W. Bailey, "Iranian studies V," *BSOAS* 8 (1935), 142; idem, "Saka śśāndrāmata," op. cit., 136-143.

³⁰ Bundahiš 15.1; Zātspram 10.3; Šāyast-lā šāyast 15.20-24, 22.5, 23.1; Dādistān-i Dīnik 64.6.

stration.³¹ Ārmaiti is occasionally invested with chthonic qualities, as shown by Ahura Mazda's judgment that the uncharitable tiller of the earth would "fall down into the darkness of Spenta Ārmaiti, down into the world of woe, the dismal realm, down into the house of hell."³² The abstract Gāthic qualities of Ārmaiti which survived in her later function as a protector of the Zoroastrian religion,³³ were thus combined with a chthonic aspect which was perhaps a Magian contribution of ultimately Mesopotamian origin.³⁴

As earth, Spenta Ārmaiti was frequently coupled with heaven in Zoroastrian hymns that, nevertheless, identified her as a creature of Ahura Mazda.³⁵ But in the pre-Zoroastrian and non-Zoroastrian Iranian beliefs, such as those held by the eastern Saka, heaven and earth represented two equally important creative entities.³⁶ Bountiful earth was particularly venerated by the sedentary Iranian populations that lived beyond the sphere of influence of the Zoroastrian reforms.

Although intangible,³⁷ Spendarmad, or Spenta Ārmaiti, occasionally manifested herself in the form of a woman. As protectress of the water rights of Iranian lands, Ārmaiti's manifestation was clearly symbolic. She appeared as a maiden dressed "in a bright robe which shone forth in all directions for a *hasr*'s length, that is, about two *parasangs*. And she was girt with a golden girdle which was the Religion of the Mazdayasnians."³⁸

Whereas pictorial representations of Ārmaiti are lacking in Persian art, those of her Saka equivalent, Śśandrāmata, the personified earth, have been identified by Sir H. W. Bailey.³⁹ The Saka Śśandrāmata is depicted in the Buddhist art of Khotan and Tumšūq, in Chinese Turkestan, as a four-armed enthroned goddess,⁴⁰ according to the formula used for the representations of Nanā in Khwarezmian and Sogdian art.⁴¹ The resemblance between the Nanā images of Transoxiana and the Saka Śśandrāmata exceeds their formal ties with Indian models; it testifies rather, to a mutual relationship in the conception of the two groups of divine images.

Finally, the ascendance and prevalence of the cult of Nanā in early medieval Transoxiana would be satisfactorily explained if Nanā's functions were equated with those of the principal Iranian goddess Ārmaiti. The creative and chthonic aspects of Ārmaiti, or Spenta Ārmaiti, would then have been transferred to the regional cult of Nanā in Transoxiana. This fusion would then explain Nanā's association with the Sogdian funerary and dynastic cult, her role in the native Sogdian cult of Adonis,⁴² and the parallelisms between her imagery in Transoxiana and the representations of the Saka Śśandrāmata.

³¹ Zātspram 22.9-10.

³² Venidād, Fargard III.35.

³³ Yašt 1.27ff, Dinkard, Book IX:31.17, 42.10, 43.21, 60.4, 69.14ff.; Zātspram 12.2.

³⁴ For other instances of the transmission of Mesopotamian religious notions to Iranian beliefs through the medium of the Magians, see A. D. H. Bivar, "Religious subjects on Achaemenid seals," *Mithraic studies*. ed. J. R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, 103-104; *idem*, "Mithra and Mesopotamia," *ibid.*, 286.

³⁵ Yasna 38.1-2; Vendidād, Fargard XIX.13.

³⁶ For a discussion of the religious beliefs of the Pontic Scythians, see O. G. von Wesendonk, "Arəmati als arische Erdgottheit," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 17 (1929), 73ff.; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Symbols and values in Zoroastrianism, their survival and renewal*, New York/Evanston 1970, 29. On the religious beliefs of the eastern Saka, see Bailey, "Saka śśandrāmata," *op. cit.*, 136-153.

³⁷ Šāyast-lā-šāyast 15.3.

³⁸ Zātspram 4.4-6, translated by R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan. A Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1956, 163.

³⁹ Bailey, "Saka śśandrāmata," *op. cit.*, 142; *idem*, *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*, *op. cit.*, 52; *idem*, *Khotanese texts IV*, *op. cit.* 12.

⁴⁰ For the images of the Saka Śśandrāmata, see N. V. D'yakonova, in *Kul'tura i iskusstvo narodov vostoka* 6, *Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha V*, Leningrad 1961, 257-272. This author points to the following connections between the native non-Buddhist religion of Khotan and that of Sogdiana: (1) A chthonic cult associated with the ancestors of the ruling dynasty; (2) the occurrence of a pair of divinities at the head of the pantheon.

⁴¹ For examples from Khwarezmian art, see above note 26, for Sogdian images, see above note 24.

⁴² Henning, "A Sogdian god," *op. cit.*, 252; E. Chavanne, *Les Tou-kiue (Tures) occidentaux*, Paris 1942, 132-3, note 5; Azarpay, "Iranian divinities in Sogdian painting," *op. cit.* The connection between the goddess Nanā and the native cult of Adonis found in Sogdiana, recalls the Phrygian myth of Pesinonte, reported by Arnobius (V, 6, 12), in which Nanā is given as the name of the daughter of the river Sangarios, mother of Attis. But as Cumont noted, no cult is known to have been associated with this Anatolian Nanā, see *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, *op. cit.*, 196, note 5.

It may be supposed that the syncretic cult of Nanâ-Ārmaiti was fairly widespread throughout the east Iranian world in early medieval times. The name of Spenta Ārmaiti appears as a compound among theophoric names on Parthian ostraca from Nisa.⁴³ It is perhaps likely that the

important Nanâ sanctuary which was reportedly situated at Nisa⁴⁴ was dedicated not to Anāhita, whose name is absent from the theophoric names from Nisa, but to the combined cult of Nanâ-Ārmaiti.

⁴³ I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy I v. do n. é.*, Moskva 1960, 24; *idem*, in *Sbornik v cheste akademika I. A. Orbeli, Issledovaniya po istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka*, Moskva/Leningrad 1960, 332.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, in *Peredneaziatskoĭ sbornik II, Deshifrovka i interpretatsiya pis'mennostiĭ drevnego vostoka*, Moskva 1966, 152, n. 66 (No. 1682, 1741, 228, 1243); *idem*, in *Sbornik v cheste akademika I. A. Orbeli, op. cit.*, 329.



The Eclipse Dragon on an Arabic Frontispiece-Miniature

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THE ECLIPSE DRAGON ON AN ARABIC FRONTISPIECE-MINIATURE

G. AZARPAY

With A Note on the Babylonian Mythological Explanation of the Lunar Eclipse by A. D. KILMER.

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A lunar emblem framed by a pair of entwined dragons is repeated twice on the double frontispiece-miniatures of the Arabic Pseudo-Galen manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 2964, in Paris. Bishr Farès who discovered the manuscript argued for a relationship between the subject matter of these frontispiece-miniatures and the content of the text of the manuscript which dealt with the effects and treatment of snakebite.

The present paper intends to demonstrate the astrological meaning of the theme of the Paris Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures which gains significance from the juxtaposition of the entwined dragons and the lunar emblem. The motif of the entwined dragons in these miniatures is here explained as a reference to the pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit, the Arabic *al-Djawzahr*, which were regarded as the Head and Tail of a giant Dragon. The astronomical importance of the *jawzahr* lay in its role in effecting solar and lunar eclipses which were attributed to the occurrence of a conjunction of the sun or moon in or near the lunar nodes. It is unlikely that the artist of the Paris Pseudo-Galen miniatures attempted to establish a connection between the eclipse phenomenon and the content of the manuscript. However, the correspondence between the date of the completion of the manuscript and the occurrence of a solar eclipse on January 28, A.D. 1199, would appear to indicate the astrological significance of the eclipse for the completion of the work.

A CROSS-LEGGED FEMALE FIGURE holding up a crescent is repeated twice on the double frontispiece-miniatures of the *kitāb al-diryāq*, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 2964, in Paris (fig. 1).¹ The *kitāb al-diryāq*, or "Book of Anti-

dotes," is an Arabic translation of a text by an unknown Classical author referred to as Pseudo-Galen or Pseudo-Joannes Grammatikos, on the effects and treatment of snakebite. Apart from the two frontispiece-miniatures, there are nine text-miniatures and a set of illustrations of serpents and plants that have a direct bearing upon the content of the text.²

The cross-legged image of the frontispiece-miniatures finds its counterparts in representations of the planet figure of the moon, shown as a man seated in a cross-legged position holding up a crescent in Islamic works of art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although the isolated lunar symbol was occasionally used merely for its

¹ Bishr Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque, Art Islamique* II, Le Caire 1953, pls. III-IV, and frontispiece in color. The two frontispiece miniatures are placed within floral frames accentuated by horizontal bands of kufic inscriptions placed above and below the figural compositions. The two figural compositions (each 18 x 18.5 cm) differ only in color scheme and in some minor details of gesture and posture of the secondary figures. The cream-colored paper serves as background color for the secondary figures between the central circle and the rectangular outer frame. Red is used as background-color for the inner circular composition in both miniatures. The question whether the Paris Pseudo-Galen is the original manuscript or a slightly later copy of the manuscript of A.D. 1199, has little bearing upon an iconographic study of the miniatures. However, stylistic parallels between the text-miniatures of the Paris Pseudo-Galen and representations on Mosul bronzes of A.D. 1238-1240, used as a basis for the assumption of the thirteenth century date of the Paris Pseudo-Galen miniatures, may be

explained by the priority of stylistic innovations in miniature painting; see "Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhākī al-Mawṣili," *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, 304.

² For reproductions of other illustrations of the Paris Pseudo-Galen manuscript, see Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, op. cit., pls. VII-IX: portraits of Physicians of antiquity, pls. XI-XVI: themes and anecdotes discussed in the text, pl. XIX: a table of serpents, pls. XVII-XVIII: specimens of plants.



Fig. 1. A frontispiece-miniature from the Pseudo-Galen manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS arabe 2964, dated to January A.D. 1199. Sketched by Joyce Stark from a slide of the original miniature.

ornamental value,³ the Planet figure of the moon was generally invested with astrological or semi-magical significance. Bishr Farès who discovered and first published the Paris Pseudo-Galen manuscript, saw a connection between the content of the text and the lunar emblem depicted in the frontispiece-miniatures which he interpreted as a prophylactic or talismanic device against evil and snakebite. He identified the image as a representation of Ningal, consort of the Sumero-Akkadian moon-god Nannar or Sin, whose iconography was presumably transmitted to the Islamic period through the medium of the Sabaeans of Harrân.⁴ The presence of a pair of entwined dragons around the lunar emblem in these miniatures was further seen by Farès as confirmation of the magical significance of the theme of the frontispiece-miniatures and of its relationship to the text.⁵

The principal image in the two miniatures in question is shown seated frontally in a cross-legged position holding up a lunar crescent that

encircles her torso. By contrast to the hieratic posture of the principal image, animated motion is expressed in the postures of the smaller figures that flank the principal image and by the four winged beings in the corners of the composition. The figures are represented according to a standard type distinguished by a stocky long-waisted body, and a large "moon-shaped" face framed by long black tresses.⁶ Whereas the two smallest figures in the composition are provided with plain disc haloes, the remainder are shown with stylized flame-rimmed nimbi. The principal figure is further distinguished by a crown decorated with a pair of antithetic birds. Each figure wears a sleeved jacket made of a light lustrous or patterned fabric and decorated with gold sleeve-bands,⁷ a long sash knotted below the waist over long loose trousers, and a pair of gold-colored pouches hung from shoulder straps that intersect over the chest.⁸ The costume and the painted finger- and toe-nails, suggest the feminine identity of all the figures in the two frontispiece-miniatures.

The immediate forerunners of the cross-legged female figure holding the crescent are found on the coins of the Zangid ruler of Mosul, Mas'ūd I (A.D. 1169-1179) (fig. 2).⁹ Similar images found on the coins of other Zangid rulers, and on Artuqid and Mongol coins of the thirteenth century, evidently depict a male rather than a female lunar image.¹⁰ The emblem was also found in a

⁶ The figures depicted in the two frontispiece-miniatures conform to the ideal standards that prevailed in Islamic lands ruled by Turkish or Turkmen dynasties from the tenth century A.D.; see K. Holter "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Harīrī der Wiener Nationalbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 11:2, Wien 1937, 11f.

⁷ Cf., the *jubba* or *farajiyya*, L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Genève 1952, 52. For parallels to the antithetic birds on the headdress of the principal figure, see E. Baer, "Nisan Tasi," *Kunst des Orients* IX 1/2, Wiesbaden 1975, 28f.

⁸ For comparable, though not identical treatment of the sash, see the al-Šūfī manuscript of A.D. 1130/31, in Istanbul, E. Wellesz, "An early al-Šūfī manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford," *Ars Orientalis* 3, 1959, 20f, fig. 43.

⁹ R. Ettinghausen, "Hilāl," *Encyclopaedia of Islam* III, Leiden/London 1966, 381-385; B. Lewis, *The world of Islam*, London 1976, 54, fig. 44.

¹⁰ Coin of Nasir-ed-Dīn Maḥmūd (A.D. 1185-1201), Artuqid ruler of Diyārbakr, Holter, "Die Galen-Hand-

³ Rice, "Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣili," *op. cit.*, 3.

⁴ Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, *op. cit.*, 22f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 32-33.



Fig. 2. Cross-legged figure with a crescent depicted on the bronze coin of Mas'ūd I, A.D. 1169-1179, Zangid ruler of Mosul. Sketched by Joyce Stark after Lewis, *The World of Islam*, fig. 44.

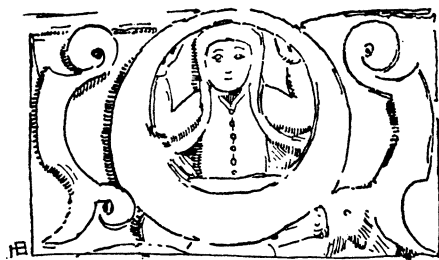


Fig. 3. Figure with a crescent from the Sinjar gate of Mosul, now destroyed, dated to the thirteenth century. Sketch from Herzfeld, "Der Thron des Khosrō," fig. 34.

stone relief on the Sinjar gate of Mosul, now destroyed (fig. 3),¹¹ and is seen on Islamic metalwork of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (fig. 4).¹² The earliest use of this motif in Islamic

schrift," *op. cit.*, 41, fig. 38; S. Lane Poole, *The coins of the Turkman houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, etc., in the British Museum, Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum III*, London 1877, pls. X: # 568, XI: # 635.

¹¹ E. Herzfeld, "Der Thron des Khosrō," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 4, Berlin 1920, fig. 34; F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet I*, Berlin 1920, 213f.

¹² F. Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellung im Orient und Okzident," *Der Islam* 3, Strassburg 1922, 164, fig. 10; E. Kühnel, "Zwei Mosulbronzen und ihr Meister," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 60, 1939, 15f; A. U. Pope, ed., *A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present VI*, London/New York 1939, pls. 1327, 1331; D. S. Rice, "The brasses of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'Lu'," *BSOAS XIII*:3, 1950, 627-634; E. Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies in Medieval Islamic art*,



Fig. 4. Figure with a crescent flanked by entwined dragons, from a detail of the decoration of the bronze tray from the reign of Badr-ad-Dīn Lu'Lu' of Mosul, A.D. 1233-1259, in the State Library, Munich. A detail of a sketch from Saxl, *Der Islam* 3, fig. 10.

miniature painting, apart from the Pseudo-Galen miniature under discussion, is found in the representation of the planet figure of the moon from the *Cosmography* of Qazwīnī, in the State Library in Munich, Monac. arab. 464, written at Damascus in 678/1260.¹³ Thus besides the examples in which the lunar figure is depicted in an ornamental context, the planet figure of the moon is generally found in an astrological or astronomical context in Islamic art of the twelfth to the fourteenth century.¹⁴

If the posture and the lunar crescent held by the principal figure in the Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures associate her with anthropomorphic representations of the planet figure of the moon in Islamic art, her feminine identity suggests comparison with the lunar imagery of the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine traditions.¹⁵

Oriental Notes and Studies, Jerusalem 1965, 70-71; eadem, "The Nisa Tasi," *op. cit.*, 16f.; A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Islamic metalwork from Iranian lands*, Victoria and Albert Museum Exhibition, April-May 1976, London 1976, fig. 8.

¹³ Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellung," *op. cit.*, 151f., fig. 8.

¹⁴ Rice, "Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Aḥmad al-Dhakī al-Mawṣili," *op. cit.*, 321f., argues against the association of the lunar emblem with the city of Mosul and with the reign of Atabeg Lu'Lu' of Mosul; Ettinghausen, "Hilāl," *op. cit.*, 382.

¹⁵ Farès attributes the use of the female lunar image in the Paris Pseudo-Galen to the influence of the iconography and religious beliefs of the Sabaeans of Harrān;

Two possible explanations may be proposed for the substitution of the male by a female lunar image in Islamic art. The substitution may have occurred in Islamic lands that were particularly receptive to Late Antique and Byzantine artistic impulses.¹⁶ Or it may have resulted from the fusion of the two different astrological systems that were in use in the Islamic world. The two astrological systems that found graphic representation in Islamic art were the *exaltations* and the *domicilia*.¹⁷ In the system of exaltations, which was characteristic for Babylonian astrology, the exaltation represented the point of the maximum power of a planet when standing in a certain zodiacal sign. Thus the moon which found its maximum power in Taurus, was there depicted as a male figure. The *domicilium*, the system known in Graeco-Roman astrology, represented the position of a planet standing in its zodiacal sign. As lord of a female domicilium, the moon may have been personified as a female figure in an astrological context.¹⁸

see *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, *op. cit.*, 22f. The female bust inside a lunar crescent is found in Fatimid art, see Ettinghausen, "Hilāl." *op. cit.*, 382, fig. 12.

¹⁶ Lane Poole, *The coins of the Turkuman houses*, *op. cit.*, cf. victory figures on Zangid coins of the thirteenth century A.D., pl. X: # 502, # 511, #565; Lewis, *The world of Islam*, 54, figs. 43-44.

¹⁷ W. Hartner, "The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies," *Ars Islamica* V:2, 1938, 119f, fig. 2; idem, "Zur astrologischen Symbolik des 'Wade Cup,'" *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957*, Berlin 1959, 236; idem, "The Vaso Vescovali in the British Museum," *Kunst des Orients* IX 1/2, Wiesbaden 1975, 99-130. I wish to thank Professor Eva Baer for drawing my attention to the last reference.

¹⁸ For the iconography of the lunar figure in Graeco-Roman art, see "Luna," in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ser. 2, Leipzig 1894-97, 2154f; "Selene," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ser. 2, Stuttgart 1921, 1143, l. 446f. For representations of the moon depicted as a female bust inside a lunar crescent in reliefs of the Roman period from Western Asia, see H. Ingholt, *Parthian sculptures from Hatra, Orient and Hellas in art and religion*, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Art and Sciences* XII, 1954, New Haven 1954, pl. III:1; D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque*

The lunar emblem in the Paris Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures is given a specific definition by its association with a pair of entwined dragons. The juxtaposition of the lunar emblem and the entwined dragons provides a graphic expression of a specific astronomical phenomenon known also from other representations in Islamic art. The entwined dragons dominate the composition of the frontispiece-miniatures by their central position and relatively large scale.¹⁹ Their serpentine bodies that form the circumference of the circle around the lunar image, are knotted at the four cardinal points. The knots at the apex and base of the circle are formed by three inscribed circles that define the necks and tails of the dragons. The body of each dragon is similarly but independently knotted midway between head and tail. The confronted heads of the dragons are shown with long ears, open jaws, wrinkled snouts and protruding tongues. Dragons of this type, occasionally provided with wings and feline forelegs, are depicted in various media in Islamic art of the twelfth century and later. The earliest Islamic example of the motif of the entwined dragons is found on the coins of Qara Arslan (A.D. 1109-1144), Artuqid ruler of Diyār-bakr (fig. 5).²⁰ The motif was later used as a gate

romaine, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* III, Paris 1952, 29, n. 6.

¹⁸ See above note 15.

¹⁹ The four-winged and haloed figures in the corners of the composition which serve as transitions from the circular inner frame to the rectangular outer border, compare to the winged figures of honorific and celestial significance in Islamic art; see B. Farès, *Une miniature religieuse de l'école arabe de Bagdad, Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte* 51, Le Caire 1948, 36-45.

²⁰ Lane Poole, *The coins of the Turkuman houses*, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, # 329. For a detail showing the entwined dragons on this coin, see M. van Berchem, J. Strzygowski, *Amida*, Heidelberg 1910, 84, fig. 33. The theme of the entwined dragons in Islamic art finds Central Asian forerunners that doubtless contributed to the widespread use of the motif in Islamic art patronized by Turkish dynasties. Thus the significance of the knotted dragon in Seljuk art, when it is clearly not a planetary figure, is also subject to different interpretations. The motif of entwined dragons is known from both the western and the eastern reaches of Central Asia during the pre-Islamic period. The motif appears in a non-Buddhist context in the sculptural decoration of the portico of a public shrine in the Sogdian city of Panjikent, datable to the

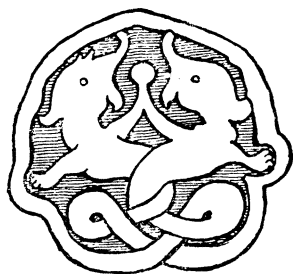


Fig. 5. Entwined dragons from an Artuqid coin of Fakhr-ad-Dīn Qara Arslan, A.D. 1109-1144, in the British Museum. From a sketch of a detail of the coin, van Berchem, Strzygowski, *Amida*, fig. 33.

late seventh or early eighth century A.D.; see A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia*, Archaeologia Mundi series, Cleveland/New York 1968, pl. 105; idem, *Monumental'noe iskusstvo Pendszhikenta*, Moskva 1973, fig. 76. The use of the motif of the entwined dragons appears in a Buddhist context in the art of eastern Turkestan where features of the western Asiatic ecliptic Dragon are combined with the Chinese male and female principles symbolized as a pair of serpentine creatures with entwined tails (cf. rubbing of a stone relief from Wu-liang tz'u, Shantung province, L. C. S. Sickman, *Oriental art, Early Chinese art*, The University Prints, Cambridge, Mass., n.d., # 0134. The latter dates from the second century A.D.). See A. Stein, *Inner most Asia* III, Oxford, 1928 pls. CVIII, CIX, where the entwined cosmic pair is surrounded by several constellations. Representations of the entwined dragons in eastern Turkestan frequently demonstrate residual wings on both fore- and hind legs after Chinese models, cf. the entwined dragons represented in a mural of the ninth century A.D., from Bāzāklik, A. von Le Coq, *Chotcho, Ergebnisse der kgl. preussischen Turfan-Expeditionen*, Berlin 1913, pl. 32. For a discussion of the motif in Central Asian art, see J. Zykan, "Zur Geisteswelt der asiatischen Kunst. II. Die verschlungenen Drachen," *Artibus Asiae* VII:1-4, 1937, 178-190. For speculations about the possible meanings of the entwined dragons in the art of Central Asia, see G. Öney, "Anatolian Seljuk art," *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* XXXIII, Ankara 1969, 213. That Islamic works of art of the Seljuq period drew upon Chinese models is suggested by the knotted body of the dragons and in the use of the dragon among other animals of the Chinese zodiac as a portal device; see F. Diez, "The zodiac relief of the portal of Gök Medrese in Siwas," *Artibus Asiae* XII:1/2, 1949, 99-104; K. Otto-Dorn, "Darstellungen des turco-chinesischen Tierzyklus in der islamischen Kunst," *Diez Armağanı*, Istanbul 1963, 142f.

emblem in Mesopotamian, Anatolian and Syrian cities, and survived as late as the fifteenth century as a funerary symbol on the tombstone of the Mamlūk ruler al-Mu'ayyad Sayf-ad-Dīn Shaykh, in Egypt.²¹ The motif of the entwined dragons is also known from various other media in Islamic art (fig. 4),²² and its ramifications are found in the dragon emblems used on medieval European portals.²³ A key to the interpretation of the motif of the entwined dragons in Islamic art is provided by Mesopotamian metalwork of the thirteenth century which shows the juxtaposition of the entwined dragons with solar or lunar symbols within an astrological context.²⁴ W. Hartner was

²¹ F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* III, Berlin 1911, pl. X; van Berchem, Strzygowski, *Amida*, op. cit., 82f; Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, op. cit., 29-33, 52, fig. 13; K. Otto-Dorn, *L'Art de l'Islam, L'Art dans le Monde*, Paris 1964, 176; Öney, "Anatolian Seljuk art," op. cit., 193-216, lists the occurrence of the motif in the Seljuq art of Anatolia. The use of the entwined dragons as a gate emblem in Islamic cities may be compared to the ancient Near East rituals and incantations that were prophylaxis against the eclipse demons entering the city and its buildings; see the *utukkū lemnūti* text, lines 203 and 208, quoted in A. D. Kilmer, "A note on the Babylonian mythological explanation of the lunar eclipse," below. The representation of the entwined dragons on Islamic tombstones, on the other hand, may have been intended as an allegoric reference to the eclipse of life. The use of this motif on the Mamlūk tombstone in Egypt (van Berchem, Strzygowski, *Amida*, op. cit., 84, fig. 34) has forerunners in Seljuq funerary representations in Anatolia, K. Otto-Dorn, "Türkische Grabsteine mit Figurenreliefs aus Kleinasien," *Ars Orientalis* III, 1959, 75f. For a different interpretation of the motif of the entwined dragons on tombstones, see E. Esin, "Evren," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* I, Ankara 1969, 175f. I am grateful to Professor K. Otto-Dorn for the last reference. See also E. Esin, "The cosmic symbolism of the dracontine arch and apotropaic mask in Turkish symbolism," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 4, London 1973, 33.

²² E. Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Braunschweig 1963, 170, fig. 131; Öney, "Anatolian Seljuk art," op. cit., figs. 17, 21.

²³ E. Kühnel, "Drachenportale," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* IV: 1/2, Berlin 1950, 1-8.

²⁴ A connection between the meaning of the entwined dragons on the Islamic portals and the planetary Dragon is suggested by the juxtaposition of entwined dragons and the heads of Leo and Taurus on portals and on

the first to identify the motif of the dragon used in an astrological context as a reference to the pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit, known as jawzahr.²⁵ The Arabic *al-Djawzahr*, which derives from the New Persian *gawzahr*, was conceived by Muslim astrologers as a giant serpent or dragon (Arabic *tinnin*). The lunar nodes were the two diametrically opposite points of the intersection of the moon's orbit and the ecliptic, which because of their constant motion that was contrary to that of the sun, moon and planets, were considered as pseudoplanets. The astronomical importance of the lunar nodes lay in their role in effecting solar and lunar eclipses. These eclipses were attributed to the periodic conjunction of the sun or moon in or near the lunar nodes.

Representations of the ecliptic Dragon in the Islamic art of Mesopotamia are characterized by a formal conservatism that testifies to their reliance on established earlier models. Although the particular traits of the Mesopotamian type dragon are occasionally found in Persian art of the Mongol period,²⁶ representations of the jawzahr in Persian metalwork of the Seljuq period are distinguished by a formal diversity that sets them apart from the Mesopotamian treatment of the same theme.²⁷

bronze door-clappers from Anatolia and Northern Mesopotamia, datable to the thirteenth century; see Öney, "Anatolian Seljuk art," *op. cit.*, figs. 17-18, 28-30a, 31. The object depicted under the head of Taurus in the Anatolian reliefs is probably not a "ring" but a lunar crescent. For a representation of the motif in the minor arts of the Islamic world, see J. Zick-Nissen, in *Museum für islamische Kunst, Berlin, Katalog 1971*, Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin/Dahlem 1971, 17, # 14, fig. 53; Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen," *op. cit.*, 164; Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies*, *op. cit.*, 77f; R. A. Jairazbhoy, *An outline of Islamic architecture*, Bombay, etc., 1972, 200.

²⁵ Hartner, "The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit," *op. cit.*, 113-154; idem, "Zur astrologischen Symbolik des 'Wade Cup,'" *op. cit.*, 134-243; idem, "al-Djawzahar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden/London 1965.

²⁶ J. Zick-Nissen, "Figuren auf mittelalterlich-orientalischen Keramikschalen," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8, Berlin 1975, 224, pls. 47:4, 49:3.

²⁷ The eclipse Dragon is found on the following examples of Persian metalwork of the thirteenth century: the Vescovali Vase in the British Museum, R. Pinder-Wilson, "An Islamic bronze bowl," *British Museum Quarterly* XVI:3, 1951, 85-87; Hartner, "The Vaso Vesco-

The entwined dragons of the Paris Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures display the knotted serpentine bodies, wrinkled snout, long ears and protruding tongue that constitute the basic features of dragons represented in the Islamic art of Mesopotamia. Although the colophon of the Paris Pseudo-Galen manuscript gives the name of the Shi'ite scribe and that of his nephew for whom the book was copied, it does not identify the place of their origin or the provenience of the work itself.²⁸ Since the names of the scribe and recipient have not been found in chronicles and bibliographies from this period, the origin of the manuscript has been a subject of considerable controversy.²⁹ Farès associated the Paris Pseudo-Galen with a somewhat later version of the same manuscript in the National Library, in Vienna, and attributed both manuscripts to the School of Baghdad.³⁰ Earlier K. Holter had shown a stylistic relationship between the Vienna Pseudo-Galen and frontispiece-miniatures from an early thirteenth century *kitāb al-aghānī*, "Book of Songs," in Cairo and Istanbul, which he identified as products of the School of Mosul.³¹ Holter's attribution was later supported by D. S. Rice and S. M. Stern who published additional frontispiece-miniatures from other volumes of the same "Book of Songs."³² In a study devoted to the miniatures from the Paris and Vienna

vali in the British Museum," *op. cit.*, 99-130; Baer, *Sphinxes and harpies*, *op. cit.*, 77f, fig. 96. The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art, D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1955, pl. VIII:a, fig. 14:b; R. Ettinghausen, "The Wade Cup," *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, 346. Cf. also the jawzahr medallions on the Bobrinsky bucket of 559/1163, in the Hermitage Museum, in Leningrad; R. Ettinghausen, "The Bobrinsky 'kettel,' patron and style of an Islamic bronze," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* XXIV, 1943, 193-208; Hartner, "The Vaso Vescovali in the British Museum," *op. cit.*, 121f. For other examples on Persian metalwork, see Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, *op. cit.*, pls. 1312, 1327, 1328, 1331, 1336; A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Le bronze iranien*, *Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris 1973, 49.

²⁸ Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.

²⁹ Ibid., 9.

³⁰ Ibid., 50f.

³¹ Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift," *op. cit.*, 36f.

³² D. S. Rice, "The aghānī miniatures and religious painting in Islam," *The Burlington Magazine* 95, 1953, 128-134; S. M. Stern, "A new volume of the illustrated Aghānī manuscript," *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, 501-503.

Pseudo-Galen and to the frontispiece-miniatures of the "Book of Songs," A. S. Melikian Chirvani argued for a Persian origin of the miniatures from all three manuscripts which he attributed to a workshop in the Rayy or Kashan areas.³³ But the latter author did not altogether deny the possibility of their origin in an Artuqid workshop.³⁴ The available comparative material for the motif of the Jawzahr in the Paris Pseudo-Galen manuscript appears to rule out the likelihood of the origin of that manuscript in a Persian artistic workshop of the Seljuq period. The fore-runners and contemporaneous parallels to the motif of the entwined dragons of the Paris Pseudo-Galen miniatures are found rather in the areas of Diyārbakr and Mosul under the rule of Artuqid and Zangid dynasties.

Since the concept of the Jawzahr had its origin in the pre-Islamic period, a study of the ancient and pre-Islamic manifestations of the ecliptic Dragon might be expected to cast light upon its imagery in the Islamic age. In his pioneering study of the jawzahr in Hindu and Islamic iconographies, W. Hartner reviewed the etymology of the Arabic *al-Djawzahr*,³⁵ NP *gawzahr*, which derives from Avestan *gao-ēithra*, used as an epithet for the moon, meaning "seed of the animals."³⁶ In the ninth century Zoroastrian texts, the Avestan *gao-ēithra* became *gōēih*r, the antagonist of the sun, moon and stars. The Bundahišn (V, 52:12) describes the *gōēih*r, as the Dragon that "stood in the middle of the sky like a serpent (*mār*), its Head in the Two Images [Gemini] and its Tail in the Centaur [Sagittarius], so that at all times there are six constellations between its Head and Tail; and its running is retrograde (so that) every ten years the Tail reverts to where the Head (was) and the Head to

where the Tail (was)."³⁷ The change in the meaning of Avestan *gao-ēithra* and the identification of *gōēih*r with the ecliptic Dragon in the Pahlavi texts must have followed the introduction into Persia, around A.D. 500, of the concept of the sphere of the ecliptic to which "mixed" activities, such as eclipses and planetary motion, were confined.³⁸ Yet representations of the *ouroboros* serpent on Sassanian seals of the fifth century suggest the currency of astrological notions about the ecliptic Dragon at an earlier period in Sassanian Persia (fig. 6).³⁹ According to A. D. H.



Fig. 6. Sassanian seal showing a crescent, stars and lion, encircled by an *ouroboros* serpent, fifth century A.D. Sketched after Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic seals*, pl. 11:DL2.

Bivar, Sassanian representations of the Serpent with its tail in its mouth, like their Roman counterparts, returned to conventional renderings of the eclipse Dragon in contemporaneous star-maps inspired by astrological works of the Hellenistic East.⁴⁰

³³ A. S. Melikian Chirvani, "Trois manuscrits de l'Iran seljoukide," *Arts asiatiques* XVI, 1967, 3-51.

³⁴ Ibid., 33.

³⁵ Hartner, "The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit," *op. cit.*, 113-154.

³⁶ B. Geiger, "Indo-Iranica," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XL:1-2, Wien 1933, 108-113; M. P. Khareghat, "The identity of some heavenly bodies mentioned in Old Iranian writings," *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa jubilee volume*, Bombay 1914, 126f; W. B. Henning, "An astronomical chapter of the Bundahishn," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3-4, London 1942, 233.

³⁷ D. N. MacKenzie, "Zoroastrian astrology in the Bundahišn," *BSOAS* XXVII:3, 1964, 513, 115f.

³⁸ Henning, "An astronomical chapter of the Bundahishn," *op. cit.*, 239, 245.

³⁹ A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic seals in the British Museum, Stamp seals III: The Sassanian dynasty*, London 1969, 26, pl. 11: DL2, 119804.

⁴⁰ Bivar connected the *ouroboros* snake of the Hellenistic star-maps with the Egyptian serpent deity Āpep, regarded as the cosmic antagonist of the sun and moon, *ibid.*, 26. Āpep, the great serpent of the Egyptian underworld and arch-enemy of Rā, attacked the sun-god daily, and was overcome daily. The symbol of Āpep in an Egyptian papyrus of the late fourth century B.C. was the *ouroboros* snake; see E. A. Budge, *The gods of the Egyptians or studies in Egyptian mythology* I, Chicago 1904, 296-272.

Though cognizant of the influence attributed by astrologers to the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit, Graeco-Roman sources did not attribute planetary qualities to the Head and Tail of the Dragon (*Caput et Cauda Draconis*) prior to the fourth century A.D.⁴¹ Reference to the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit is thus absent in the Sanskrit translation of a second century Greek astrological text that has been traced back to Alexandria. The Greek original of the Sanskrit Yavanajātaka of Yavaneśvara was apparently based ultimately on a Babylonian linear method of planetary calculation, datable to the Seleucid period.⁴² The single mention of the Head of the Dragon in the prose version of the Yavanajātaka was apparently due to a later addition made by Sphujidhvaja who made a versification of the Sanskrit text in A.D. 269.⁴³ But Rāhu and Ketu, the Indian equivalents of the Head and Tail of the Dragon, are listed among the nine planets (grahas) in the sixth century Indian astrological treatises of Varāhamihira.⁴⁴ Rāhu is depicted in Indian art from the ninth to the eleventh century A.D., as only a large human torso, and Ketu appears there as a human torso on a serpentine body.⁴⁵ Graphic representations of Rāhu and Ketu in Indian art thus belong to a tradition of imagery that was independent of the formal developments in the representation of the ecliptic Dragon in Western Asia.

The iconography of the ecliptic Dragon in Mesopotamian art of the Islamic period finds local antecedents in pre-Islamic representations of an ophidian, horned and long-snouted dragon with a protruding tongue. Such dragons were occasionally also equipped with wings and feline forelegs, as shown by the representation of the



Fig. 7. The constellation Hydra depicted as a dragon, with Taurus and the Pleiades on a Babylonian astrological tablet of the third century B.C., in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, VAT 7847. Sketched after Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen*, pl. 6, by A. D. Kilmer.

constellation of Hydra on a Babylonian astrological text of the third century B.C., from Uruk (fig. 7).⁴⁶ The iconography and formal features of this dragon conform to those of earlier Babylonian dragons represented on kudurrus of the Kassite period.⁴⁷ The theme of the lunar eclipse depicted on another Late Babylonian astrological text of Seleucid date (figs. 8-9) with possible



Fig. 8. The Pleiades, lunar disc and Taurus depicted on a Babylonian astrological tablet of the third century B.C., in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, VAT 7851. Sketched after Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen*, pl. 2, by A. D. Kilmer.



Fig. 9. Detail of the lunar disc on VAT 7851 (cf. fig. 8), redrawn by A. D. Kilmer from Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen*, pl. 2.

⁴¹ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, 122, 508f. On the Gnostic explanation for the eclipse phenomenon, see *ibid.*, 122.

⁴² D. Pingree, "A Greek linear planetary text in India," *JAOS* 79:4, 1959, 282-4; *idem*, "The Indian iconography of the Decans and Horās," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVI, London 1963, 225-6, n. 5.

⁴³ *Idem*, "The empires of Rudradārman and Yāsodharman: evidence from two astrological texts," *JAOS* 79:4, 1959, 268-9.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 267, Hartner, "al-Djawzahar," *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ Hartner, "The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit," *op. cit.*, 131f, figs. 7-9.

⁴⁶ *Durch vier Jahrtausende altvorderasiatischer Kultur, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum*, Berlin 1962, 176f, VAT 7847; E. F. Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* 254, Band 2, Abhandlung, Wien 1967, 38, pls. 5-10.

⁴⁷ A. Moortgat, *The art of ancient Mesopotamia*, London/New York 1967, 100f, figs. 229, 231-3.

antecedents in the Neo-Assyrian period,⁴⁸ is connected by A. D. Kilmer to an explanation of the eclipse phenomenon preserved in a Late Assyrian bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian) text of the seventh century B.C.⁴⁹ (See below, appended Note by A. D. Kilmer.) Although scientific explanations for the eclipse phenomenon are evidently lacking in Babylonian astronomical texts,⁵⁰ the late Assyrian bilingual text offers a mythological explanation for that phenomenon. Seven demons, the *utukkū lemnūti*, are there named as agents responsible for the periodic concealment of the moon. In this text the dragon and the serpent are both listed among the seven adversaries that assault celestial bodies and extinguish the moon's light at regular intervals of time. Since the *utukkū lemnūti* text probably records a myth of greater antiquity, it is tempting to interpret the juxtaposition of entwined serpents and lunar and solar symbols found on some Sumerian seals, as a reference to serpentine eclipse demons.⁵¹ A similar

juxtaposition is found in the much later, but pre-Islamic art of south Arabia where entwined serpents as attributes of the moon-god Wadd, are associated with a lunar crescent.⁵²

The following points may be noted in a summary of the foregoing study. The cross-legged image holding up the crescent from the Paris Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures, is interpreted as a reference to the planet figure of the moon for which numerous parallels exist in Islamic art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The lunar emblem is there frequently flanked by a pair of dragons whose open jaws are turned towards the moon. As a reference to the *jawzahr*, the ecliptic Dragon, these dragons are comparable to the entwined dragons that encircle the lunar image in the Paris Pseudo-Galen miniatures. The clear connection established between the entwined dragons and the lunar symbol in that manuscript would seem to confirm the identification of the theme as a reference to the pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit.

The formal diversity demonstrated by representations of the *jawzahr* in Persian metalwork of the Seljuq period may be understood as evidence of the absence in Persian art of a standard graphic model for the ecliptic Dragon. The extreme conservatism found in the representation of the *jawzahr* and of dragons in general in the Islamic art of Mesopotamia, on the other hand, testifies to the strength of Babylonian models that were perpetuated in Mesopotamia during the Hellenistic period.

The colophon on the last page of the text of the Paris Pseudo-Galen gives the date of the completion of the manuscript as Rabi' al-awwal, A.H. 595, or January A.D. 1199.⁵³ The correspondence of the date of the completion of the manuscript with that of the occurrence of a partial solar eclipse in the Near East on January 28, A.D. 1199,⁵⁴ may lend additional support to the



Fig. 10. A Neo-Assyrian seal in the Pierpont Morgan Collection, sketched by A. D. Kilmer after Porada, *Corpus of Near Eastern Seals*, pl. CI, # 688E.

Eastern seals in North American collections I-II, Bollingen series XIV, Washington, D.C., 1948, pl. CI, # 688E. Cf. the seldom represented theme of the conflict between a seven-headed Hydra and two gods, on Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian seals, R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 4, Berlin 1965, 52, n. 31, fig. 292. I wish to thank Professor W. Heimpel for the last reference.

⁴⁹ I wish to express my appreciation to Professor A. D. Kilmer for the contribution, "A note on the Babylonian mythological explanation of the lunar eclipse," appended to this paper.

⁵⁰ O. Neugebauer, *A history of ancient mathematical astronomy* I, New York/Heidelberg/Berlin 1975, 550.

⁵¹ E. D. Van Buren, "Entwined serpents," *Archiv für Orientforschung* X, 1935, 58-59, figs. 3, 5; cf. also Porada, *Corpus of Near Eastern seals*, op. cit., pl. X, # 62E.

⁵² M. Höfner, "Südarabien (Saba', Qatabān, u.a.)," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart 1965, 533f, 549.

⁵³ Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, op. cit., 9, pl. XXI.

⁵⁴ The colophon states that the work was completed on Rabi' al-awwal, A.H. 595/January A.D. 1199. The first day of the month of Rabi' al-awwal, A.H. 595/January A.D. 1199. The first day of the month of Rabi' al-awwal in A. H. 595, corresponded with Friday, January 1, A.D. 1199, see Farès, *Le Livre de la Thèriaque*, op. cit., 7-8, pl. XXI. Calculation shows that on January 28, A.D. 1199, there

interpretation proposed here for the Paris Pseudo-Galen frontispiece-miniatures. It should be noted that Islamic dedicatory inscriptions from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appear to ignore the eclipse as an astronomical phenomenon of purely chronological interest.⁵⁵ However, Islamic magic bowls, produced to counteract snakebite among other ailments, were made under auspicious astrological conditions and followed specifications outlined in astrological tables. The inscription on one such bowl states that it was made in A.D. 1209, "when the moon was in Scorpion."⁵⁶ Thus as references to astrological conditions that had influence upon terrestrial beings, both solar and lunar eclipses were occurrences that were invested with specific, but different, astrological significance.⁵⁷

A Note on the Babylonian Mythological Explanation of the Lunar Eclipse

A myth concerning the cause of lunar eclipses is known from the sixteenth tablet of the late bilingual incantation series dealing with "evil demons" (Akkadian *utukkū lemnūti*). For a summary see D. O. Edzard, "Mondfinsternis" in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (ed. Haussig) I (1965), p. 101; for partial translation of the myth see already R. Labat's in *Les Religions du Proche Orient asiatique* (1970), pp. 138-140. Note the interpretation of T. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (1976), pp. 123, 137. Cuneiform texts published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol. XVI, plates 19-23. The present writer thanks Prof. W. J. Heimpel for sharing his transliterations of *utukkū lemnūti*; the following translation of pertinent passages was made (by Kilmer) from the Akkadian lines.

Utukkū lemnūti Tab. 16

The butting storms, the evil gods are they,
Merciless demons who were created in the *šupuk šamē* (i.e., the pouring forth/heaping up of the (unruly?) heavens),
They, the doers of badness are they.

was a total eclipse of the sun along an arc that extended from the Atlantic across Africa, India and Malaya. This would have appeared as a partial solar eclipse in the Near East, see T. R. Oppolzer, *Canon of eclipses (Canon der Finsternisse)*, reprint, translated by O. Gingerich, New York 1962, 48, chart 115.

⁵⁵ E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* V, Le Caire 1934, *passim*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. X, 1939, no. 3648, see also no. 3387 bis.

⁵⁷ R. Ettinghausen, "The Wade Cup," *Ars Orientalis* II, 1957, 365.

10. Supporters of evil who daily [do] evil,
Commit murder, []
Among that Seven, the first is Southwind,
The second is *Ušumgallu*-dragon whose gaping
mouth lets no one escape,
The third is Raging Leopard whose mouth . . .
20. The fourth is Terrifying *Šibbu*-serpent . . .
The fifth is Ferocious Lion whom no one can
repulse,
The sixth is Surging Floodwave who [even attacks]
god and king,
The seventh is Evil Stormwind who [].
They are the Seven, messengers of Anu (the sky
god) their king.
30. (On) city upon city, darkness they place, they.
The duststorm which swirls angrily in the sky,
are they.
The gathering cloud which places gloom in the
heavens, are they.
The blast of attacking wind which sets darkness onto
daylight,
With a stormwind they fan the evil wind, they.
The inundation of Adad (the weather god), mighty
confusions, are they.
To the right of Adad they march, they.
At the fundament of heaven, like lightening, they
butt [about, they],
(Eager) to commit murder they march in front,
[they.]
50. In the wide heavens, the abode of Anu the king,
Evilly they stand, they have no match.
When Enlil (god of the earth's air and sky) heard
that report
He took the matter to heart.
With Ea (god of the watery abyss, a creator god),
the lofty leader of
60. the gods, he took counsel and (as a result)
Sin (the moongod), Šamaš (the sungod), and Ištar
(Venus) he installed to keep in order the *šupuk šamē*.
With Anu he (Enlil) had them (Sun, Moon and
Venus) share the rulership of all the heavens.
Unto these three, the gods his children
70. He commanded them their night and day—un-
ceasing—standing.
When those Seven, the evil gods
Break loose in the *šupuk šamē*,
Confronting Nannar-Sin, ferociously they encircle
(him) completely.
Hero Šamaš (and) valiant Adad are helpless (lit.:
are turned back on their side)
(While) Ištar takes up the pure dwelling with Anu

80. the king, and becomes important for the kingship of heaven.
 •
 •
 •
 •
 Sin (who loves?) humankind
 . . . of the land
 [His light?] is troubled and he sits like a mute.
 Night and day he is dark, he does not dwell in the dwelling of his lordship.
100. The evil gods, messengers of Anu the king,
 Supporters of evil, at night they rampage, they,
 Evil they constantly seek, they,
 From the midst of heaven like the wind, they,
 They rise up against the land, they.
110. Enlil, when he saw in the heavens the hero Sin's eclipse,
 The lord called out to his vizier, Nusku,
 "Oh Nusku, my vizier, carry a message to the *apsû*
 (the watery abyss, abode of Ea)
 The report about my son, Sin, who is
 Dark in the heaven, evilly (portending).
 To Ea in the *apsû* repeat (the matter) to him."
 120. And Nusku honored the word of his lord, and
 To Ea in the *apsû* speedily he went.
 To the prince, the lofty leader, the lord Nudimmud,
 Nusku, the word of his lord, word by word, he repeated.
 Ea in the *apsû* heard that word,
 130. And he bit his lip (in anger) and "Oh Woe!" filled his mouth.
 Ea called his son, Marduk, and informed him of the matter.
 "Go, Marduk, my son!
 The son of the prince, Nannar-Sin, who is evilly dark in the sky—
 His eclipse in the heavens is clearly visible.
140. The Seven, they, the evil gods, the fearless death-causers, they,
 The Seven, they, evil gods who, like the *abûbu* (the Great Flood)
 Rise up and sweep over the country,
 Upon the land like the storm they rise up.
 Confronting Nannar-Sin, ferociously they encircle (him) completely.
150. Hero Šamaš (and) valiant Adad are helpless
 [. . . ."].
 (break, in which, apparently, Marduk rescues the moon.
 Ritual instructions follow:)
175. In the house of health and prosperity (?) . . .
 . . . the halo
- In the gate of the palace
180. (for?) a multicolored *ulinnu*-garment,—spin hair of a virgin kid, hair of a virgin lamb!
 (As to) the king, son of his god who, like Nannar-Sin, holds the life of the land,
 Like the new crescent, wears Glory on his head,
 . . .
 (break)
201. The mighty *e'ru*-wood club—set up a Tumult at his head!
 Lay on the incantation of Eridu and
 Purify him with a container of holy water!
 (Incantation words follow: May the evil demons not enter the house, approach the palace and king, not surround the city . . .)
233. They, merciless demons, they,
 Who else—but they, who (when) no god was named in heaven
 Anu and Enlil named them—
 Sin, in the midst of the heavens, they darkened,
 His corona they tore off,
 His ornament [they . . .]
 His appearance [they . . .]
 The gods
 •
 •
 •
267. The great demons who from heaven were released,
 They, the evil gods, they,
 •
 •
 •
279. Let them ascend to heaven and let them return to their dwellings.
 The evil *utukku*, the evil *alû*, let them descend to earth.
 The evil *eḫemmu*, the evil *gallû*, let them exit from the city.
 (There follows the swearing of oaths not to enter houses or temples, etc., and the incantations for this are described.)
- Some knowledge of the above (or a similar) eclipse myth may be reflected in the pictorial illustrations on two Seleucid period astronomical texts, VAT 7851 and VAT 7847, both dealing with lunar eclipses. For the text publications see E. Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen auf Babylonischen Tontafeln* (Wien, 1967), pp. 1-11 with plates. For an explanation of the lists of zodiacal signs on the tablet as pertaining to the microzodiac system, see A. Sachs, JCS 6 (1952), pp. 71ff.
- While in both texts the illustrations relate directly to the planetary movements in the months of the particular

eclipses, and the constellations in which the planets reach their hypsomata, the question is whether or not the illustrations also reflect any eclipse mythology. If they do, the following observations are offered:

1. Fig. 8 shows the illustration (following Weidner) of VAT 7851 obverse in which the Pleiades (the "Seven") and Taurus relate to the month in which the eclipse occurred. As to the lunar disk, Weidner described it as displaying Marduk (as the Man in the Moon) grasping a lion's (= demon's) tail. Weidner does not connect the lunar picture with the eclipse myth of *utukkū lemnūti* XVI, but he does connect the Man in the Moon with certain notions about eclipses.

2. The illustration on the tablet VAT 7851 is poorly executed on the original, as Weidner observes. A closer look, however, even at the photo in Weidner's plate, inclines the present writer to an interpretation different from Weidner's. Fig. 9 shows a reconstruction of the lunar disk in a state of siege by a serpentine demon/dragon who is coiled around the moon's perimeter. Marduk (alias Jupiter?) is shown rescuing the moon: he holds a magic (Ashwood?) club in his right hand (see CAD E p. 319 sub 3' for the *e'ru*-wood club and note line 201 of *utukkū lemnūti* XVI above); he holds a rhomb-shaped dagger in his left hand with which he stabs the dragon; his left foot appears to be standing on the dragon's tail.

3. VAT 7847 depicts Jupiter, Hydra and Leo on the obverse (see Fig. 7, after Weidner); Hydra's tail (continued around from the obverse) with Corvus (the Crow) pecking in it, Mercury and Virgo (holding the ear of the grain plant, her symbol), are depicted on the reverse. In support of the possibility that the representation of Hy-

dra on this tablet was also intended to evoke the mythology about lunar eclipses and dragons is a scene on a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal drawn to my attention by Prof. Azarpay:

4. NA seal in the Pierpont Morgan collection, No. 688E in E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, vol. I, plate CI. See Fig. 10. In this scene a running god (Marduk?) chases and catches up with a dragon identical to that of VAT 7847; he stabs it in the head with a pointed dagger in his right hand. Note the presence of the lunar crescent and a star-cluster whose shape is that of the pleiades. The other features may or may not be evocative of the myth: the ear-of-the-grain plant pinioning the dragon's tail (cf. the crow pecking in the dragon's tail on VAT 7847 rev. and Marduk's foot planted on the tail in Fig. 8); the male figure whose hands prepare to catch one of the loose stars (cf. Mercury's presence in VAT 7847 rev.); the female figure whose hands prepare to catch the solar(?) disk (cf. Virgo in VAT 7847 rev.). Are the three loose stars/globes (or is one the handle of the dagger?) meant to represent three members of the pleiades who have broken loose from the cluster?

5. If the illustrations as shown in Figs. 7, 8, 9 and 10 are relevant for a tradition about an "eclipse dragon," it should be noted that the relationship with *utukkū lemnūti* XVI is not a direct one, for in that story the seven demons (of which two are dragons: *ušumgallu* and *šibbu*) are said to encircle the moon and cause its eclipse. In the pictorial evidence adduced here, a single dragon is involved. Moreover, as Prof. Heimpel wisely cautions, the astrological symbols are used in so many contexts—many not understood by us—that they can lead us on a merry but inconclusive chase.

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GUITTY AZARPAY

BISHAPUR VI: AN ARTISTIC RECORD OF
AN ARMENO-PERSIAN ALLIANCE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

To the Memory of Roman Ghirshman

Bishapur VI is one of six rock reliefs carved on the escarpments of a defile, the Tang-i Čogān or “polo field,” formed by the Shapur River just north of the city of Bishapur.¹ The theme of victory echoed in the six reliefs carved along this north-south artery of communication imparts the impression of a triumphal way leading to the gate of the city founded in southwestern Iran by Shapur I, after that Sasanian king’s first Roman victory in A.D. 244.² Like the reliefs that decorate Roman triumphal arches and columns, the rock carvings at Bishapur lend plastic expression to noteworthy historic events through the representation of successive episodes from a given story, and through the development of the iconography of the triumphant ruler. But unlike the cyclic and continuous methods of pictorial narration often utilized in the Roman reliefs, the use of the complementary method distinguishes pictorial narration in the Sasanian reliefs.³ Here the protagonists are represented once in a central scene that is complemented by pictorial allusions to the background or the result of the central scene.

Of the six reliefs carved along the banks of the Shapur River, Bishapur VI is situated farthest from the city, a fact that led Roman Ghirshman to assign it the latest date within the series of reliefs from that site.⁴ Bishapur VI differs from other Sasanian reliefs also in the technique of its execution. Its rough-hewn surface and relatively shallow carving which had led earlier investigators to regard it as unfinished, now appear to have been in part intentionally produced to permit a bondage between the rock surface and a top coat of plaster on which the final details of the relief were evidently executed.⁵ The long rectangular panel of Bishapur VI is divided into two superimposed registers of figures that converge toward an enthroned image depicted in the center of the upper register (fig. 1–2).⁶ The identification of the enthroned figure is complicated by the absence of the crown, which like other details, was evidently carved and

¹ For descriptions of this site, see R. R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Châpour, Bichâpour I*, Paris 1971, 22, 48, pls. IV, X; G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part I, Iranische Denkmäler 9:II*, Berlin 1980, 8–10, eadem, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part II, Iranische Denkmäler 10:II*, Berlin 1981, 20f.

² Ghirshman, *Bichâpour*, 48, 117.

³ Ibid., 45 f, P. G. Meyboom, “Some Observations on Narration in Greek Art,” *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 40, 1978, 70f; Ruysschaert, “Essai d’interprétation synthétique de l’arc de Constantin,” *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Vatican 1963, 79–180.

⁴ Ghirshman, *Bichâpour*, 48.

⁵ For accurate measurements, description and detailed observations on technical and stylistic particulars of this relief, see G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 20f, which gives the following measurements for the relief, maximum height: 4.40 m; width at base: 10.015 m; maximum depth of relief: 8 cm.

⁶ Ibid., fig. 3, pls. 17–32. For earlier illustrations of this relief, see E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, London/New York 1941, pls. CXVII–CXVIII, XXC; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l’Iran ancien*, Leiden 1959, pl. 80; Ghirshman, *Bichâpour*, pls. XIX–XXI.

modelled on the plaster that once adhered to the rock surface.⁷ An assessment of the date and significance of this relief is justified by the singular technique of its execution, its unusual iconography and its contested date and pictorial content. G. Herrmann's recent publication of new photographs, accurate drawing and information about Bishapur VI offers an indispensable source of reference for the present effort toward the establishment of the date and meaning of that monument.⁸

I

Stylistic and Iconographic Considerations

The enthroned and frontal image in the center of the upper register in Bishapur VI (fig. 3) has been generally identified with a Sasanian ruler on the basis of its similarity to the image of the Sasanian king Bahram II (A.D. 276–293), from Naqš-e Bahrām.⁹ The compositional scheme and schematic thrust of Bishapur VI led Ernst Herzfeld to attribute that relief first to Khusro II (591–628), and later to Shapur I (242–273).¹⁰ Herzfeld's later attribution, followed by Kurt Erdmann, has been accepted by G. Herrmann in the commentary to her catalogue entry for the relief.¹¹ The first relatively detailed formal study of the relief was offered by Ghirshman who originally identified the enthroned ruler in Bishapur VI with Shapur II (309–379).¹² This identification was accepted by L. Vanden Berghe,¹³ but rejected by V. Lukonin who attributed Bishapur VI first to the reign of Bahram II (276–293) and, more recently, to that of Narse (293–302).¹⁴ Lukonin's earlier identification led E. de Waele to suggest the substitution of the winged crown of Bahram IV (388–399) for the presumed winged crown of Bahram II in the relief.¹⁵ In a brief note published posthumously, Ghirshman yielded to Lukonin's later identification of the ruler in Bishapur VI with the Sasanian king Narse.¹⁶

Whereas Ghirshman's arguments for a fourth century date for Bishapur VI had relied primarily on formal considerations, Lukonin arrived at his identifications largely through the use of historical records that were called upon to explain the content of that relief. The conflicting dates and interpretations obtained for Bishapur VI in these studies are in part due to the inaccessibility of the relief for firsthand study, and in part the result of a disjunction in the appli-

⁷ Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 21 f.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ R. Ghirshman, "A propos des bas-reliefs rupestres sassanides," *Artibus Asiae* 13, 1950, fig. 11; P. O. Harper, "Thrones and Enthronement Scenes in Sassanian Art," *Iran* 17, 1979, 49–64, fig. 1, pl. VIa.

¹⁰ F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit*, Berlin 1910, 214; E. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* III, 1928, 135; idem, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 318 f, interprets the scene as a triumph of Shapur I.

¹¹ K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Mainz 1969 (2nd ed.), 62; Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 35.

¹² Ghirshman, "A propos des bas-reliefs rupestres sassanides," 90–98; idem, *Bichapour*, 79–88. In an earlier reference to this relief, Herrmann had tentatively accepted the identification of the enthroned ruler with Shapur II, see her *The Iranian Revival*, Oxford 1977, 94.

¹³ E. Schmidt, *Persepolis III, OIP LXX*, Chicago 1970, 137; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, 59; idem, in *Iranica Antiqua* XV, 1980, 269 f.

¹⁴ V. G. Lukonin, *Kul'tura sasanidskogo Irana*, Moskva 1969, 113 f; idem, *Iran v III veke*, Moskva 1979, 129 f. For a review of Lukonin's arguments, see Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs from Bishapur: Part 2*, 32 f.

¹⁵ E. de Waele, "Nouvelles miettes de sculpture rupestre sassanide à Naqš-e Rostam," *Syria* 54, 1977, 75 f, n. 3.

¹⁶ R. Ghirshman, "Tsar' Narse v Bishapure," *Drevnii Vostok i mirovaia kul'tura, Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Nauchnii Sovet po istorii mirovoi kul'tury*, Moskva 1981, 118–120.

cation of two equally valid approaches to the study of the work of art in question. Directed toward a synthesis of art historical and historical evidence, the present effort to study the Bishapur VI relief is made possible by Herrmann's publication of technical information and detailed photographs that may serve as a substitute for a firsthand study of that relief.¹⁷

A reassessment of the formal particulars of Bishapur VI requires a review of the arguments for the attribution of the relief to the reigns of Shapur I and Shapur II, proposed by Herrmann and Ghirshman respectively. The relatively shallow depth of carving (a maximum of 8 cm compared to 11 cm in Bishapur III), evidence of ineptitude, inconsistencies in the treatment of scale and proportion, and particulars of the *realia* in Bishapur VI had led Ghirshman to date that relief to the fourth century. Furthermore, the brutal aspects of the triumph, represented by bound captives and the display of severed heads, were regarded by Ghirshman to be incompatible with the more humane versions of victory depicted in the reliefs that are attributable to the reign of Shapur I.¹⁸ Despite Ghirshman's posthumously published statement of support for Lukonin's attribution of Bishapur VI to the third century, the sound formal grounds for the attribution of that relief to the fourth century remain unrefuted. As evidence for the attribution of Bishapur VI to the reign of Shapur I, Herrmann cites the large size of the relief, the use of superimposed registers, the illustration of mood, variations in posture, and third century parallels for the iconography and *realia* depicted.¹⁹ However, the large scale and format of the triumph depicted in Bishapur VI which were doubtless inspired by earlier Sasanian models, are in themselves insufficient proof of a third century date. Furthermore, the illustrations of mood and variations in posture, notable in Bishapur VI, that are only rarely anticipated in third century Sasanian reliefs, find vivid counterparts in Roman art of the fourth century. Finally, the destruction of the final details of the relief that were originally rendered in plaster, does not permit an accurate reconstruction of the treatment of hair, since like the royal beard and crown, it was merely blocked out in the relief. The *realia* for which Herrmann finds third century parallels, find closer counterparts in works of art from the fourth century, as suggested in Ghirshman's earlier study, and demonstrated in the following discussion.

Ghirshman's effort to establish the chronological framework of Bishapur VI by a comparison of its formal and iconographic particulars with the *congiarium* panel from the Arch of Constantine (315), in Rome, may be pressed farther. Viewed from a broader perspective, Bishapur VI shares with Roman art of Late Antiquity stylistic, technical and ideological features that set them apart from the third century arts of the two respective traditions. Carved in low relief with a minimum of plastic modeling, the *congiarium* or *liberalitas*, the Emperor's distribution of largesse (figs. 4–5), marks a turning point in Roman art which henceforth displays a trend toward progressive compression and linearity.²⁰ Two superimposed registers of donees gravitate toward the static image of the enthroned ruler in the center of the composition. Like the enthroned image in Bishapur VI, the ruler in the *congiarium* panel is distinguished from the

¹⁷ Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 20f.

¹⁸ Ghirshman, *Bichâpour*, 48, 80, 85f.

¹⁹ Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 35.

²⁰ A. O. L'Orange, A. van Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*, Berlin 1939, 89f., fig. 12, pls. 5b, 12, 16, 17; R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 14, New Haven 1963, 172; idem, in *The Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, ed. K. Weitzmann, New York 1979, 67–69.

figures that surround it by his elevated position, commanding posture, hieratic scale and frontality. Conversely, the encirclement of the enthroned ruler in Bishapur VI, suggested by figures that are turned away from the viewer to face the upper center of the composition, like the movement of the donees in the *congiarium*, stress what Brilliant has aptly described as “the centripetal tendencies of Late Antique absolutism.”²¹ The contrast between the frontality of the ruler and the profile heads of the secondary figures in these two compositions, furthermore, is symptomatic of their relatively early position in the development of royal imagery in Late Antiquity on both sides of the Euphrates. The selective use of frontality in these reliefs is clearly a prelude to the use of total frontality that distinguishes royal imagery on the Theodosius obelisk (390), in Istanbul, and on the late Sasanian rock relief of Khusro II (590–628), from Taq-i Bustan (figs. 6–7).²²

The spatial device represented by the suspended ledge that supports the figures in the back row in Bishapur VI, derived by Ghrishman from the art of the Late Empire,²³ is only one of several formal considerations that strengthens the argument for the attribution of Bishapur VI to the fourth century. Thus the occasional reversal of the direction of heads in Bishapur VI recalls a similar device used to relieve the monotony of otherwise uniform rows of profile heads in the *oratio* and *congiarium*, from the Arch of Constantine, in Rome (fig. 5), and on the porphyry sarcophagus of Helena (d. 336), in the Vatican (fig. 8).²⁴ Like the barbarian captives on Helena’s sarcophagus, some of the bound captives in Bishapur VI are also stripped to the waist (fig. 9). The long curling standard carried by the second figure in the Upper Right Register of Bishapur VI, finds no antecedents in third century Sasanian art.²⁵ This banner finds instead a close counterpart in the dragon standards that came into widespread use in the Roman army in the fourth century.²⁶ Dragon standards were also used in Roman parades of martial pageantry such as on the occasion of Constantine’s entry into Rome, and later in connection with Constantius’ entry into the same city.²⁷ According to Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 10, 7), such dragon standards

²¹ Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank*, 172; H.P. L’Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo 1947, 111; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, New York 1971, 79; K. Weitzmann, in *Age of Spirituality, A Symposium*, New York 1980, 3.

²² R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin/Leipzig 1933, pls. 85–88; Brilliant, in *Age of Spirituality*, 107–108, no. 99; S. Fukai, K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan II*, Tokyo 1972, pl. 2. In light of the foregoing observation the composition of the Triumph and Investiture of Shapur II, at Taq-i Bustan, may be placed after the preliminary version of Bishapur VI (see below, concluding paragraph). By analogy with Bishapur VI, the Shapur’s Investiture and Triumph at Taq-i Bustan may have been preceded by a preliminary version which was presumably completed soon after the treaty with Jovian, in 363. The final version of the relief may have been completed toward the end of the fourth century, see G. Azarpay, “The Role of Mithra in the Investiture and Triumph of Šāpūr II,” *Iranica Antiqua* XVI, 1982, 7.

²³ Ghrishman, *Bichāpour*, 83. For the use of this device in provincial Roman art, see Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, 197, fig. 226; C.H. Greenwalt, “The Eighth Campaign at Sardis (1975),” *BASOR* 228, 1976, 47, fig. 1; C.M.A. Hanfmann, N.H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1978, 122f., fig. 49. For the use of this device in the minor arts of the fourth and fifth centuries, see Weitzmann, *The Age of Spirituality*, nos. 84, 164, 232.

²⁴ B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine or the Decline of Rome*, London 1954, 39, W.F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, n.d., pls. 22–23.

²⁵ Ghrishman, *Bichapour*, 81, Herrmann, *The Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 25.

²⁶ Dragon standards are depicted on the Arch of Galerius, in Salonica, and on the Arch of Constantine, in Rome, see H.P. L’Orange, *Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire*, New Jersey 1965, fig. 39; A. Grabar, *Early Christian Art*, New York 1968, fig. 228; L’Orange, von Gerkan, *Der Spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*; G. Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino*, Milano 1956, pl. 33. On the history of the Roman dragon standard, see R. Grosse, “Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 24, Leipzig 1924, 360f.

²⁷ R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968, 15f., 40f.

“were woven out of purple thread and bound to the golden and jewelled tops of spears, with wide mouths open to the breeze and hence hissing as if roused in anger, and leaving their tails winding in the wind.” If introduced from the Near East, as R. Grosse has claimed, the dragon banners or “persici dracones,” are conspicuously absent from the repertory of Persian military equipment depicted in the early Sasanian reliefs.²⁸ Thus by reference to fourth century Roman practice, the dragon banner in Bishapur VI may be seen as an allusion either to captured Roman banners, or to the martial pageantry that presumably accompanied a parade of Persian troops and their prisoners of war.²⁹

Seen within the context of the Sasanian rock reliefs, Bishapur VI reveals stylistic and iconographic features that also support a fourth century date. To Ghirshman’s observations may be added still other considerations of *realia*, such as the king’s broad belt ribbons in Bishapur VI (fig. 3), that occur in other Sasanian reliefs from the fourth century. The absence of the chest halter from the regalia of the enthroned figure in Bishapur VI, often regarded as an argument against the attribution of the relief to the fourth century,³⁰ may be ascribed either to a deliberate omission, or to its loss as a result of the destruction of the top coat of plaster on which this detail was presumably rendered. First recorded in Sasanian art in the joust of Ardashir I (A.D. 224–ca. 243), at Firuzabad, the halter which served to fasten the coat of mail, worn like a bullet-proof vest under the shirt, eventually became an exclusive symbol of the Sasanian king in his role as his nation’s foremost warrior.³¹ The chest halter in Sasanian royal imagery from the reign of Shapur II may still have carried a more literal meaning than in subsequent periods when it became part of the standard regalia of the sovereign.³² The absence of the chest halter in Bishapur VI might thus be seen as a reference to the non-military dress of the king whose enthroned posture and attributes recall the colossal imperial portraits of the Constantinian age.³³

Finally, the royal ideology expressed in Bishapur VI reflects the panegyric mentality of the late Roman empire, as expressed in the reception of barbarian envoys by Theodosius, on the northwest panel of the obelisk in Istanbul (A.D. 390) (fig. 6).³⁴ The interaction between the royal personage and his entourage evidenced in the third century reliefs of Shapur I, is lacking in

²⁸ Ibid., 41. Grosse, “Die Fahnen,” 360f. According to Moses Khorenats’i, dragon banners were used by the Roman troops in a battle against the forces of Shapur II, “The rippling of the dragons with fearsome open mouths swollen by the blowing of the wind I can compare to nothing other than a mountain of adamant descending to the sea (such was) the entire Greek line (descending) on the Persian army.” See Moses Khorenats’i, *History of the Armenians*, tr. R.W. Thomson, Cambridge, Mass./London 1978, 296–297.

²⁹ On the impersonation of foreign captives in Roman processions, see Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, 40–41.

³⁰ Lukonin, *Iran v III veke*, 130–131; Harper, “Thrones and Enthronement Scenes in Sasanian Art,” 51, n. 13.

³¹ R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art, The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties*, 249 B.C.–A.D. 651, New York 1962, figs. 163–164.

³² Shapur II wears the halter in the Investiture and triumph, at Taq-i Bustan, and in the stucco bust from Haji Abad, near Darab, see Fukai, Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan II*, pls. 74, 84, Azarpay, “The Role of Mithra in the Investiture and Triumph of Šāpūr II,” 7, fig. 5.

³³ The chest halter may have been executed in the stucco that originally coated the figure in Bishapur VI. However, if the halter was not indicated on the plaster coat, then the enthroned image may have been intended as a depiction of the king in non-military dress, perhaps with a scepter rather than a spear. Compare the colossal image of the enthroned Constantine, set up in the second decade of the fourth century in the Forum Romanum, in Rome, which evidently showed Constantine in liturgical dress holding a scepter, see H. P. L’Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo 1933, 63 f.; R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin/Leipzig 1933, 121 f., pls. 37–43; Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, 315–316 (nos. 16–17); Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, 83; Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank*, 205 f.; J.D. Breckenridge, in *Age of Spirituality*, 18–19.

³⁴ Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank*, 194; Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, nos. 54–55; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, 353–357.

Bishapur VI where the enthroned and frontal ruler is invested with a ceremonial and symbolic quality. However, unlike the Theodosius panel where the description of the theme is reduced to a generalized statement of triumph, narrative interest is retained in the lateral friezes of Bishapur VI.³⁵ Like the “Siege of Verona” and other panels from the north façade of the Arch of Constantine (figs. 4–5), the narrative content of Bishapur VI is conveyed through variation in scale, posture, gesture, dress and descriptive detail.

The foregoing comparative study of the formal particulars of Bishapur VI, especially in reference to Roman art of Late Antiquity, suggests the establishment of the chronological limits of Bishapur VI from the period of the erection of the Arch of Constantine, in Rome, in 315, to the execution of the reliefs on the obelisk of Theodosius I, in Istanbul, in 390. The coincidence of this period with the long reign of Shapur II (309–379) lends further support to Ghirshman’s original attribution of Bishapur VI to the reign of that king.

II

The Subject Matter and Significance of Bishapur VI

The presence of the elephant in the Lower Register Right of Bishapur VI (fig. 2) was largely responsible for the interpretation of the theme of that relief as an Indian triumph of Shapur I and as a Kushan triumph of Shapur II, by Herzfeld and Ghirshman respectively.³⁶ Whereas the study of *realia* has led Herrmann to see Bishapur VI as a record of the victory of Shapur I over Central Asian peoples, Vanden Berghe was inclined to see it as a reference to the repression of a Christian community by Shapur II and the latter’s victory over Roman troops and disaffected Iranians.³⁷ By turning to historical and numismatic sources for the explanation of the theme of Bishapur VI, Lukonin added a new dimension to the largely formal frame of reference generally adopted in other studies. In his earlier discussion of the relief, Lukonin had explained it as a reference to the suppression by the Sasanian king Bahram II of a rebellion in the eastern portion of his empire, instigated by Ohrmazd Kushanshah in 293, and reported in Roman sources.³⁸ Lukonin later interpreted the relief as a record of the Sasanian king Narse’s successful bid for the throne in 293, recorded in the Middle Persian inscription from Paikuli.³⁹ Lukonin, who with earlier investigators, had noted only two severed heads in the Lower Register Right, identified the heads with Aturfarnbag, king of Mesene, and with the *framāndar* Vahunām, the Prime Minister, who were executed for having supported the young Bahram’s claim to the throne of his father. The young boy shown in the same register was identified by Lukonin with the son of the executed king of Mesene, and the captive, wearing the helmet topped with an animal’s

³⁵ The noted adaptations in Bishapur VI of artistic elements from Roman art may be seen as evidence of the receptiveness of Sasanian sculptors to the artistic idioms of an age dominated by the ecumenical style of the Late Empire. Parallels in court etiquette and royal ideology in Sasanian Iran and Rome during the Late Empire, furthermore, provided for mutually comprehensible and potentially imitable dynastic expressions on both sides of the Euphrates, see A. Grabar, *L’Empereur dans l’art byzantin*, Paris 1936, passim; A. Piganiol, *L’Empire chrétien (325–395)*, Paris 1947, 18f., 310; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, 80.

³⁶ Herzfeld, “La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide,” 135; idem, *Iran in the Ancient East*, 318f.; Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, 62; Ghirshman, “A propos des bas-reliefs rupestres sassanides,” 96.

³⁷ Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 33: n. 71, 37.

³⁸ Lukonin, *Kul’tura sasanidskogo Irana*, 113f., 218.

³⁹ Lukonin, *Iran v III veke*, 129f.

head, with Bahram III. The elephant and objects carried by the men in the Lower Register Right were tentatively explained as instruments of torture.

Whereas the formal and iconographic grounds, noted in the earlier part of this paper, militate against the attribution of Bishapur VI to the third century as proposed by Lukonin, the latter's method of approach offers a potential key to the interpretation of the disputed subject matter of the relief. The paucity of Middle Persian texts and inscriptions from the reign of Shapur II does not permit a meaningful reconstruction of the narrative content of Bishapur VI with reference to contemporaneous Persian sources.⁴⁰ However, Shapur II whose prolonged and successful military encounters with Rome earned him the reputation of having contributed to "a memorable era in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire", emerges as one of the most

⁴⁰ *Middle Persian inscriptions from the reign of Shapur II:*

1) *Persepolis I and II*. *Persepolis I* has been dated to A.D. 311. *Persepolis II* has been dated to 327 by W. B. Henning, to 356 by A. D. H. Bivar, and to 367 by Lukonin. See W. B. Henning, *The Minor Inscriptions of Kartir, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part III, vol. II, Plates: portfolio III, London 1963, pls. 85, 87; R. N. Frye, "The Persepolis Inscriptions from the Time of Shapur II," *Acta Orientalia* 30, Copenhagen 1966, 83–93; A. D. H. Bivar, "The Absolute Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors in Central Asia," *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J. Harmatta, Budapest 1979, n. 34; V. G. Lukonin, "Kushano-Sasanidskie monety," *Epigrafika vostoka* XVIII, Moskva 1967, 18.

2) Inscriptions from Kara-tepe in Old Termez, uncovered on the walls of the Buddhist cave complex BII. *MP I* was dated to A.D. 369–370, see V. A. Lizshitz, "K otkrytiyu baktriiskikh nadpisiei na Kara-tepe," in B. Ia. Staviskii, *Buddiiskie peshchery Kara-tepe v starom Termeze* II, Moskva 1969, 51. Other dates are proposed for *MP I* by V. G. Lukonin and J. Harmatta, see *Buddiiskie peshchery* II, 40–46, n. 24, 124–125. The attribution of the Middle Persian inscriptions from Kara-tepe to the reign of Shapur II is also supported by the discovery at that site of a copper coin of Shapur II, the only example of Sasanian coinage from Kara-tepe, see Staviskii, *Buddiiskie peshchery* I, Moskva 1964, 42; Lukonin, *ibid.*, II, n. 19. The Kushano-Sasanian coinage that had been issued since Shapur's alliance with the Chionites in A.D. 351–358, ceased in the 370's, presumably due to new disturbances in the East. Faustus of Byzantium mentions major military operations launched by Shapur II against the kings of Kabul in the 370's, V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens de l'Arménie* I, Paris 1869, 298–299. These campaigns must have immediately followed Shapur's involvement in the Armenian theater of war. For a review of the literature on Kushano-Sasanian coin series, see Bivar, "The Absolute Chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian Governors of Central Asia," *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia*, 317–332.

Post-Sasanian text attributed to the reign of Shapur II:

The Pahlavi treatise of Ādurbād ī Mahrspandān, attributed to the famous high-priest of the Zoroastrian church who was active during the reign of Shapur II, see R. C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi*, London 1956, 101–116.

References to the reign of Shapur II in early Muslim sources:

The accounts of the reign of Shapur II in early Muslim sources are interspersed with spurious and romantic anecdotes that accompany stories about Shapur's keen intellect and prodigious wisdom, his founding of cities and his military triumphs over Rome and the Arabs. Prominent in these legends is the anecdote about Shapur's penetration of the Roman camp in disguise, his recognition, capture and confinement in an animal's hide, and his eventual escape and triumph over the Roman emperor. Shapur's triumphs, which were occasionally confused with those of this great grandfather and namesake (cf. Ferdowsi), include wars against Arabs, to which some of the sources attribute his epithet *dhū'l-aktāf* or „broad shouldered,” which is there taken to mean “shoulder-piercer,” see T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabarī*, Leiden 1879, 52, n. 1. The legend about Shapur's intelligence mission to the Roman camp may have been confused with historical reports about the flight of Hormizd, the brother of Shapur II, to the Romans in 324. Hormizd was retained by the Roman emperors as a pretender to the Sasanian throne and participated in Julian's unsuccessful Persian expedition, see O. Seeck, "Hormisdas," in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1913, 2410; Zosimus II, 271. The early Muslim accounts of the reign of Shapur II lack an apparent correspondence with the narrative content of Bishapur VI. These are listed below in chronological order:

Ḥamza: U. M. Daupota, tr., "The Annals of Ḥamza al-Isfāhānī," *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* 17, Bombay 1930, 98–99. Bal'mī: *Tārikh-i Bal'mī*, Teheran 1341 (1962), 904–919. Tabarī: T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabarī*, Leyden 1879, 51–68. Ferdowsi: A. G. Warner, M. A. Warner, *The Shāhnama of Firdausī* VI, London 1912, 321–362. Ta'ālībī: H. Zotenberg, tr., *Histoire des rois de perses par Abou Man-sūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Moḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Tha'ālībī*, Paris 1900, 513–532.

durable *dramatis personae* in Greek and Latin sources from the fourth century.⁴¹ According to the latter accounts, Shapur's main objective in his lifelong struggle with Rome was to gain control of Armenia and Iberia, the mountainous tract that formed the northwestern frontier of the Sasanian state. Whereas the Persian claim to suzerainty over the Caucasian territories originated in the Achaemenid period, Rome's claim to those territories dated to 65 B.C., after her victory over Mithradates Eupator.⁴² The renewal of Persian territorial claims was precipitated by the eastward spread of Christianity which was equated with the expansion of the Roman sphere of influence in the same direction. Shapur II, who claimed Armenia and Iberia as part of territory lost to the Romans in Narse's treaty with Diocletian in 297,⁴³ began overt military action toward the realization of his claim by the occupation of Armenia in 334. His persecution of Christians who were regarded as enemy agents, evidently started in 337, after the accession of Constantius II, when imperial support of the Arian dogma portended the creation of an Arian state church dominated by the Roman emperor.⁴⁴ The adoption of the Arian doctrine by the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia in the fourth century, as supposed by N.G. Garsoian, would have effectively guaranteed the loyalty of that dynasty to Constantinople.⁴⁵ From the accession of Constantius to the entry of Theodosius into Constantinople in 380, three Armenian kings were given protection by Rome; Tiran in 338, Arshak in 350, and Pap in 368.⁴⁶ All three returned to their country with the help of Roman troops. However, in fourth century Armenia, there existed other factions, both pagan and Christian, whose loyalty lay with the Iranian world.⁴⁷ Tiran's imprisonment by the order of Shapur, Arshak's collaboration with the Persians in the siege of Nisibis in 338, and the pro-Persian efforts of the Armenian military commander Vasak Mamikonean, testify to the conflict of interests and loyalties at that time.⁴⁸ Shapur's reported reasons for his subsequent wars with Rome, the conditions of his peace treaty with Jovian in 363, and his later negotiations with Valens in 364–378, plainly reveal

⁴¹ E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* II, London 1910, 453; cf. A. Momigliano, "After Gibbon's Decline and Fall," in *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, 7–16. Although Armenian and Syrian sources postdate the reign of Shapur II, they furnish important information on Persian relations with Armenia in the fourth century, see A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 77–83; C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, Georgetown University Press 1963, 15f.

⁴² Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 360; H.A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to ancient World Trade*, Lisbon 1965, 19f.

⁴³ Contemporary sources attest to the fact that the treaty signed at Nisibis by Diocletian and the Persians established the frontier of the empire along a line that bounded three provinces beyond the Tigris and the southern region of Armenia, an area that was the geographical setting for subsequent wars between Constantius II and the Persians, see P. Peeters, "L'Intervention politique de Constance II dans la Grande Arménie en 338," *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* I, Bruxelles 1951, 235f., 240.

⁴⁴ J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la dynastie sassanide (224–632)*, Paris 1904, 50; Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 56. For the beginning of Shapur's persecution of Christians, see P. Peeters, "Le début de la persécution de Sapor d'après Fauste de Byzance," *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* I, Bruxelles 1951, 59–77.

⁴⁵ N.G. Garsoian, "Politique ou orthodoxie? L'Arménie au quatrième siècle," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 4, Paris 1967, 301f. See also N.H. Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," *The English Historical Review* 25, 1910, 630; E. Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, Paris 1959, 78f.; Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 94f.; G. Downey, *Ancient Antioch*, New Jersey 1963, 150.

⁴⁶ Garsoian, "Politique ou orthodoxie?" 303.

⁴⁷ Peeters, "L'Intervention politique de Constance II," 240.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 243f. On the question of Arshak's collaboration with the Persians, compare Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire* I, 154, with N. Garsoian, "Quidam Narseus? Note on the Mission of St. Narses the Great," *Armeniaca, Mélanges d'études Arméniennes*, Ile de Saint Lazare-Venise 1969, n.63.

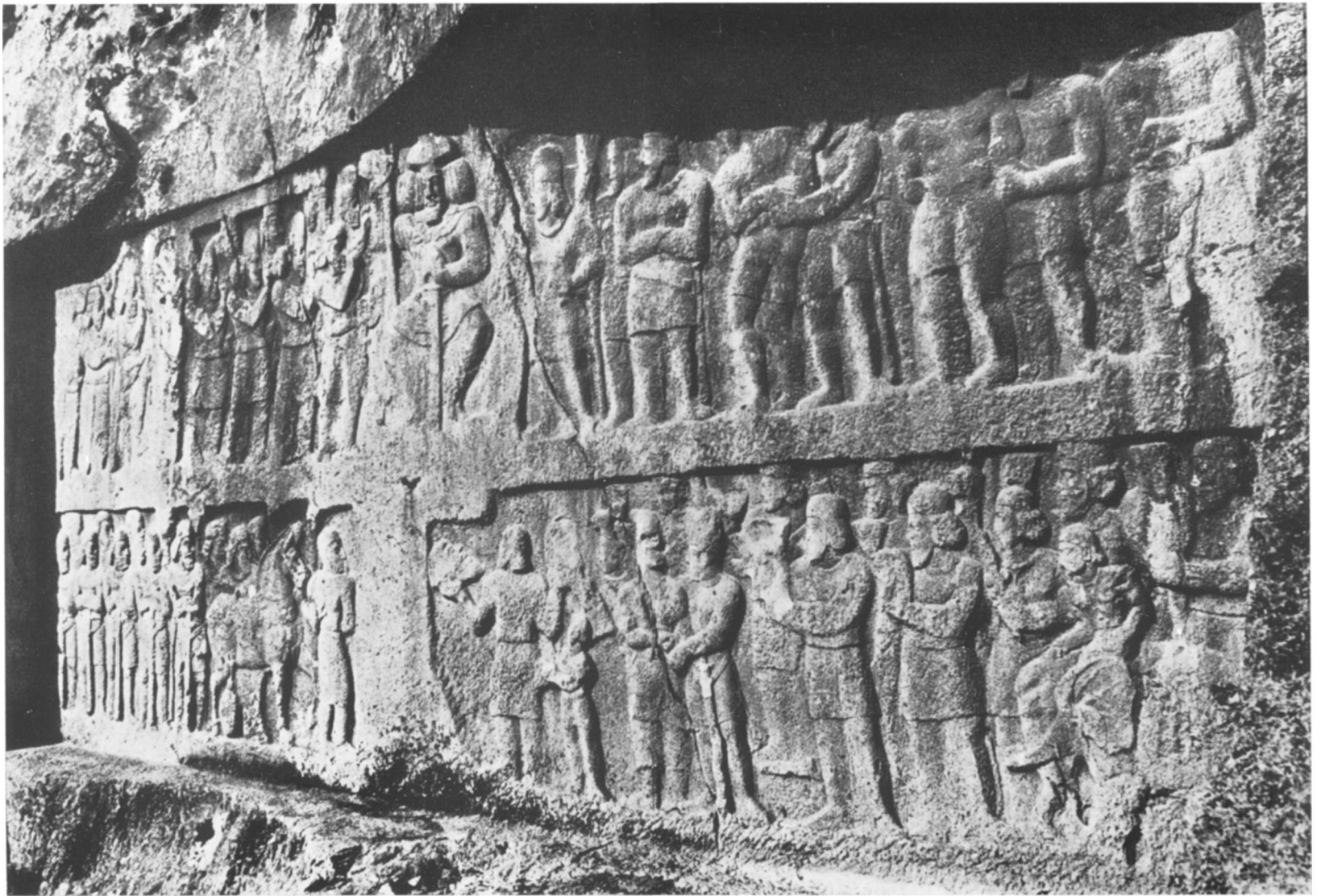


Fig. 1 The Sasanian relief from Bishapur, known as Bishapur VI. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs from Bishapur: Part 2*, pl. 17b

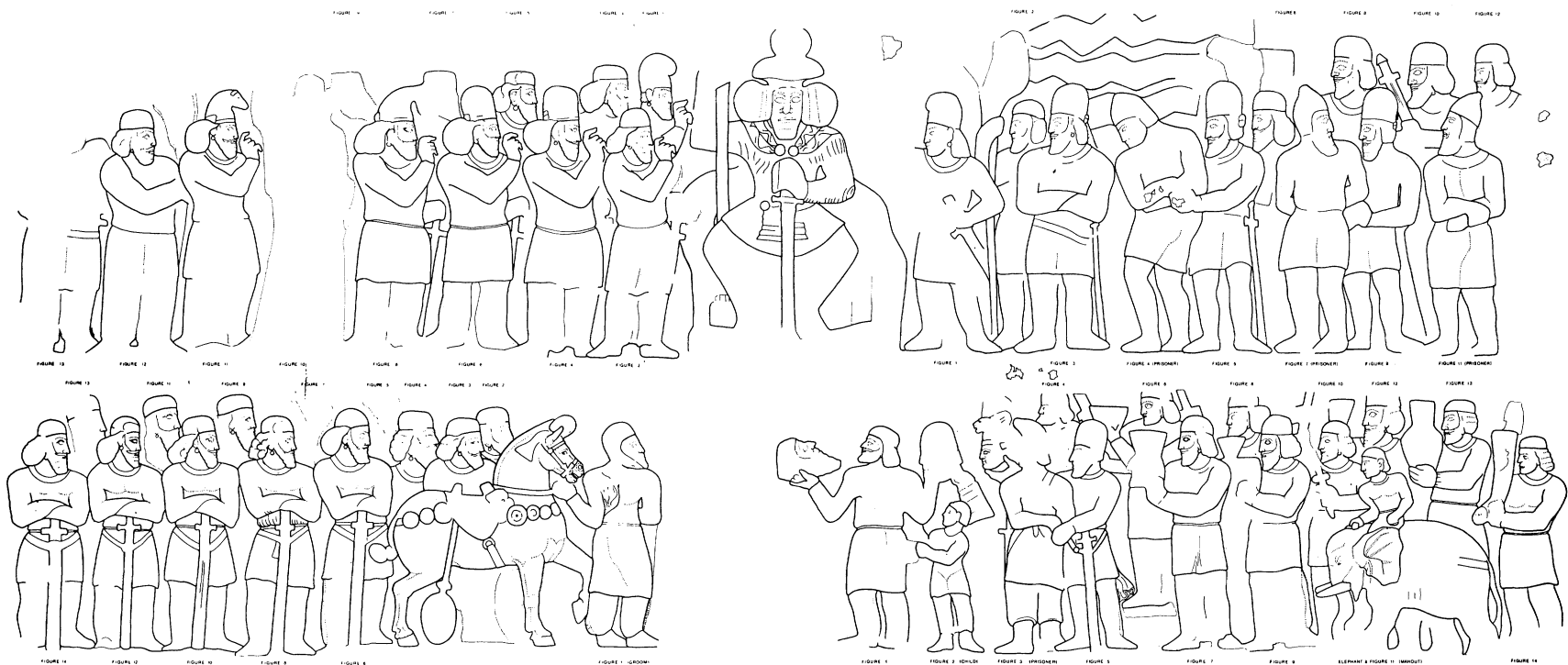


Fig. 3. Bishapur VI. The Enthroned King. Scale x. 1:15. Drawn from a photo-mosaic taken in 1975


Key:  areas with plaster still adhering.
Faint lines represent raised areas of stone of uncertain significance

Fig. 2 Bishapur VI, drawn by R.Howell. Herrmann, *op.cit.*, fig.3



Fig. 3 Bishapur VI, detail showing enthroned figure. Herrmann, *op.cit.*, pl. 18



Fig. 4 The *congiarium* from the north façade of the Arch of Constantine (315), Rome. Brilliant, in *Age of Spirituality*, 68



Fig. 5 The *congiarium* from the north façade of the Arch of Constantine, Rome. Detail from Upper Register Right.
L'Orange, Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens*, pl. 17

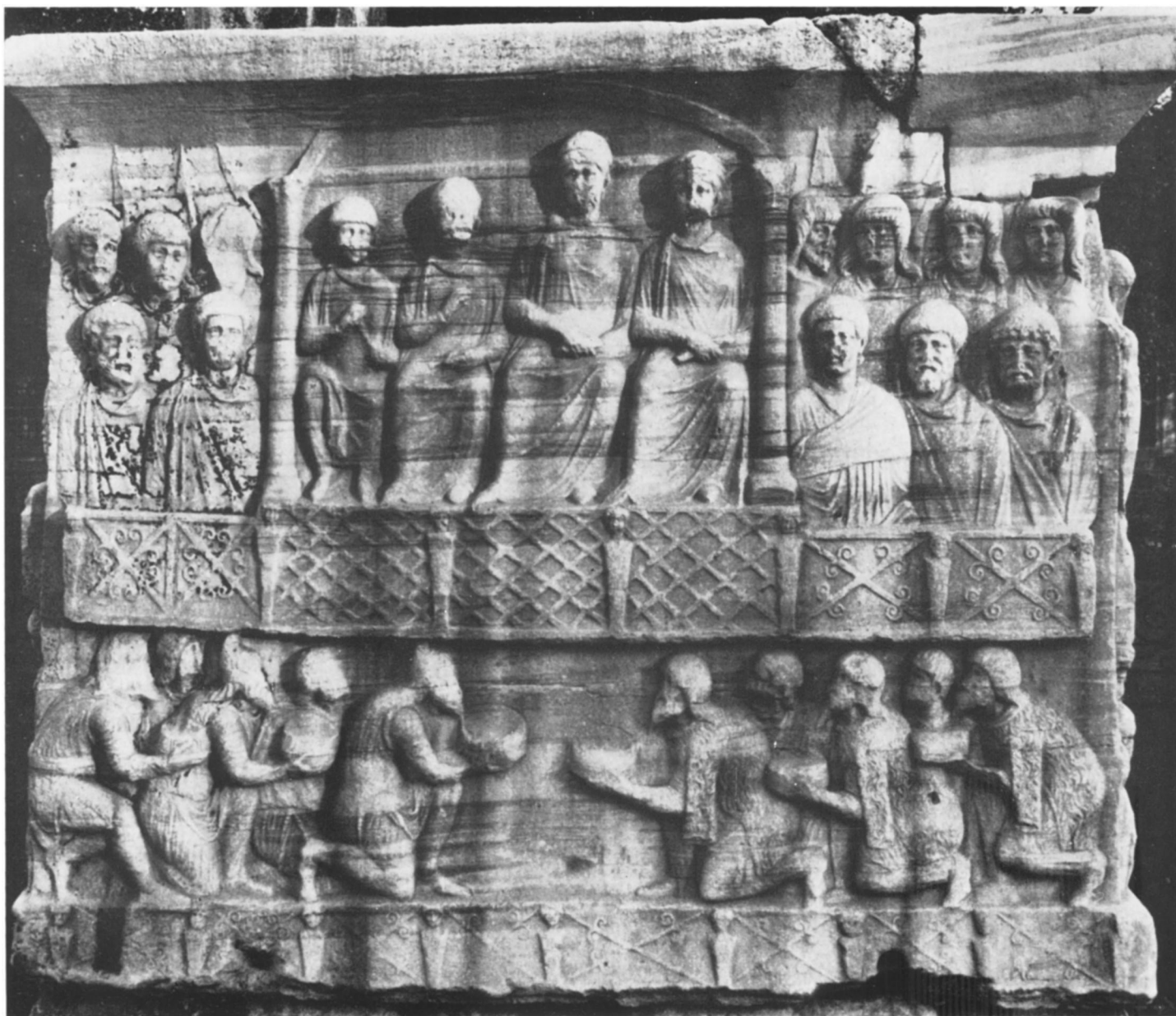


Fig. 6 The northwest panel from the obelisk of Theodosius (390), in Istanbul. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 55



Fig. 7 The investiture of the Sasanian king Khusro II (590-628), at Taq-i Bustan.
Fukai, Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan II*, pl. III



Fig. 8 Porphyry sarcophagus of Helena (d. 336), Vatican, Rome. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 25

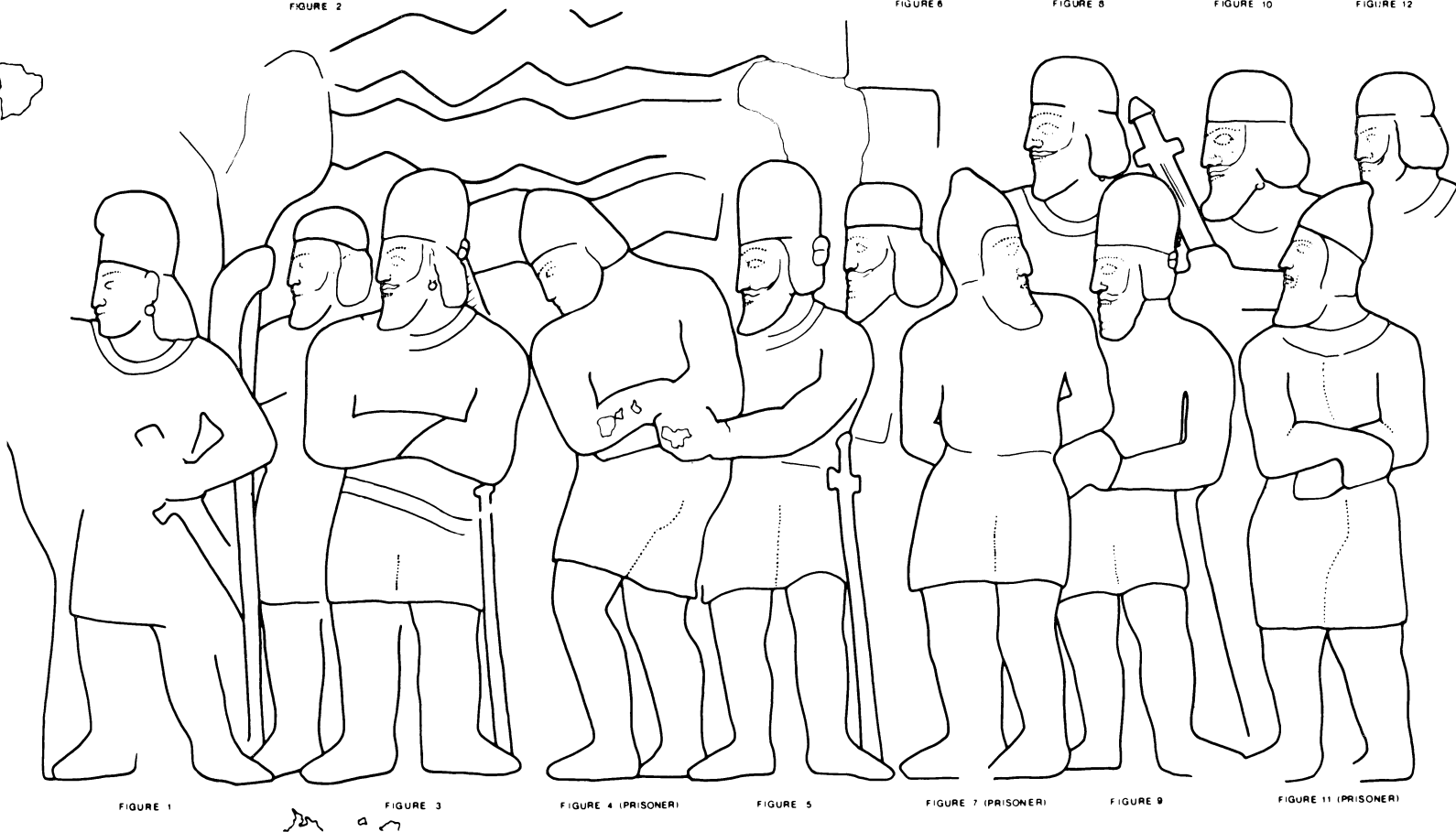


Fig. 9 Bishapur VI, drawing of Upper Register Right. After Herrmann, *op.cit.*, fig. 3

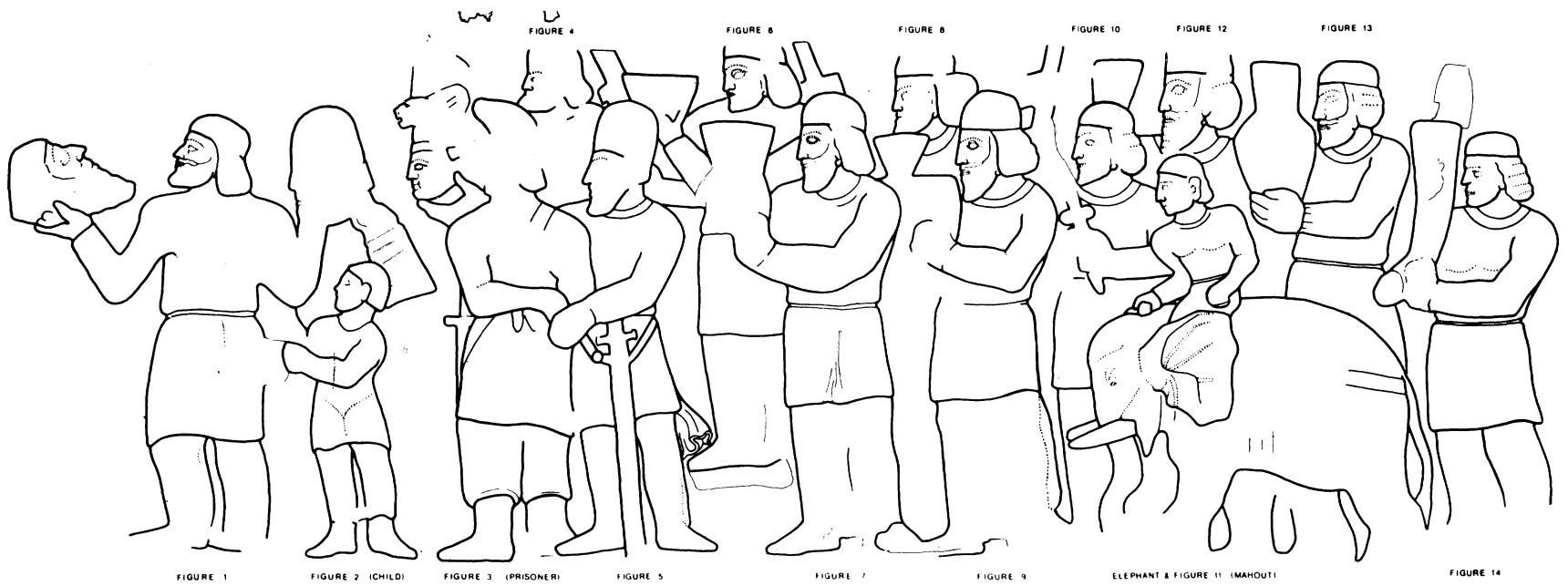


Fig. 10 Bishapur VI, drawing of Lower Register Right. After Herrmann, *op.cit.*, fig. 3



Fig. 11 Bishapur VI, detail of Lower Register Right. Herrmann, *op.cit.*, pl. 27

that the control of the Caucasian states remained a foremost concern in the Persian king's negotiations with Rome.⁴⁹ Shapur finally attained his goal in 377 when the Gothic threat on the Danubian front forced Valens to transfer the Roman occupation forces from Armenia to Thrace. Iberia was abandoned to the Persians, and the Roman client, Varazdat, consequently lost the Armenian throne to Manuel who concluded an alliance with Shapur.⁵⁰ The death of the aged Shapur in 379, one year after the Adrianople disaster, did not change Persian strategy in the Caucasus.⁵¹ With the partitioning of Armenia between Rome and Persia in 387, four fifths of Armenia, and adjacent territories as far north as the Derbend pass over the Caucasus, fell within the sphere of Sasanian influence.⁵²

A search of the narrative content of Bishapur VI for evidence of concordance with historical events from the reign of Shapur II must focus on the particulars of the triumph celebrated in that relief. The most conspicuous details of that relief figure in the Lower Register Right, where three severed heads are displayed before the enthroned figure (fig. 10). Herrmann's recent drawing and detailed photographs reveal that two severed heads, one bearded and the other with a diadem and helmet, are displayed by the figure leading the procession. A third head, beardless and wearing a helmet decorated with a lion's head and a diadem, is displayed behind the second figure in that procession (fig. 11).⁵³ The same procession of figures includes a child, a bound prisoner and his escort, an elephant and its driver, and a group of men bearing large vessels and other objects. The procession in the Upper Register Right is led by a beardless and helmeted dignitary followed by a standard bearer, Persian dignitaries, and bound captives with their escorts. Prominent in the procession of Persian dignitaries and knights in the left registers, is the saddled and riderless horse with its groom, depicted opposite the displayed heads (figs. 1–2, 10).

The particulars of the triumph depicted in Bishapur VI find close agreement with details of events connected with the Armenian theater of war reported in Roman and Armenian sources for the years 370–371. Ammianus Marcellinus' account of these events, echoed in other Roman and in later Armenian sources, reviews the background of the Armeno-Persian alliance and the partitioning of Iberia between Rome and Persia in 370–371. According to the terms of Shapur's treaty of 363 with Jovian, the Persians regained sovereign rights over territories that in 298 had been ceded to Diocletian by Shapur's grandfather Narseh.⁵⁴ These territories included

⁴⁹ Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 625–643; O. Seeck, "Sapor," in *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Stuttgart 1920, 2334–53; Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*; 137f., 154f., 170f., 186f.; Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 57f., 75f., 100f., 146, 157f.; Peeters, "L'Intervention politique de Constance II," 226; Garsoian, "Politique ou orthodoxie?" 297f.; eadem, "Quidam Narseus?" 159f.; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 150.

⁵⁰ Faustus V, 37f.; Ammianus XXX, 2, 7f.; Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 641f.; Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, 187; Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 58.

⁵¹ Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 642–643; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 151.

⁵² Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 642f. For the history of the construction of the fortification wall at the Derbend pass, see R. N. Frye, "The Sasanian System of Walls for Defense," *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 11f.; A. A. Koudriatsev, "Sur la datation des premières fortifications sassanides de Derbent," *Sovetskaiia arkhéologiya* 3, 1978, 243–258.

⁵³ The third head, which is held by figure 5, Lower Register Right, is generally identified as that of a male. But it may equally be seen as the image of a woman, of royal rank. For a description, see Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 29.

⁵⁴ Christensen, *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, 127.

Albania, Iberia and the greater part of Armenia for the governance of which Shapur installed his own appointees.⁵⁵ The Persians also obtained the promise of non-interference by the Romans in the political affairs of Armenia. In Iberia Shapur replaced the Roman appointee, Sauromaces (Surmak/Surmag), by his own client Aspacures (Varaz-Bakūr/Varaz-Bak'ar), and in Armenia he replaced the Arsacid king Arshak II by two Armenian officials, "Cylaces" and "Artabanus," who had earlier sought asylum in Persia (Ammianus XXVII, 12, 4f.).⁵⁶ On Arshak's death in 369, the "eunuch Cylaces", who had earlier served as governor of Armenia, and "Artabanus", formerly an Armenian commander-in-chief, became the principal pro-Persian contenders for the Armenian throne. However, during their siege of Artagerk' (Artogerrasa), the Armenian stronghold that housed Arshak's son and widow as well as the Armenian Arsacid dynasty's treasures, the two Armenian renegades shifted allegiance and joined forces with the defenders of the castle.⁵⁷ Under the influence of Arshak's widow, P'arandzem, they allowed Pap, the latter's son and Arsacid heir to the Armenian throne, to escape to Roman territory. Shapur responded to this turn of events by the devastation of Armenia and by a continued blockade of Artagerk', causing "Cylaces" and "Artabanus" to appeal to the Roman emperor Valens for aid, and for the return of Pap to the Armenian throne. Pap was dispatched with Roman troops under Terentius, but in keeping with the terms of Jovian's treaty with Shapur, Valens denied Pap the royal insignia, and instructed the troops to refrain from overt military action against the Persians. Shapur's campaigns of devastation in Armenia finally reduced Artagerk' and other important Armenian towns in 370; P'arandzem was captured and later executed, and the Arsacid treasures were carried off by Persian troops.⁵⁸ Pap, who with "Cylaces" and "Artabanus," had managed to escape the Persians, sought refuge in the northern mountains that formed the frontier between Lazica and Roman territory.

The implications of Shapur's advance in Armenia were sufficiently grave in the spring of 371 for Valens to dispatch count Arintheus, fresh from the Gothic engagement in Thrace, to the Armenian theater of war.⁵⁹ It was at this time that through secret negotiations with the fugitive Armenian king Pap, Shapur persuaded the latter to enter into an alliance with the Persians and to execute the two Armenian renegades, "Cylaces" and "Artabanus."⁶⁰ According to Ammianus, Pap, "in headlong haste, and using the allurements of flattering blandishments, had the two men killed, and when they were slain, *sent their heads to Sapor as a sign of his submission*" (XXVII, 12, 14, my italics). When the Romans attempted to regain control through military operations directed toward the reestablishment of their appointee, Sauromaces, on the throne of Iberia, they were confronted with the threat of an Iberian civil war, and consequently

⁵⁵ Ammianus XXV, 7, 9-13; Libanius, *Or.* XVIII, 278-279; Zosimus 3.31; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 460.

⁵⁶ Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 636f.; Stein, *Histoire du bas-empire*, 187; Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien*, 157; Garsoian, "Politique ou orthodoxie?" 309; F. Justi, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* II, eds. W. Geiger, E. Kuhn, Strassburg 1896-1904, 524; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 460f., n. 106.

⁵⁷ Artagerk'/Artogerrasa/Artaxata was situated on the left bank of the upper Araxes, see map in Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*.

⁵⁸ A. Nagel, "Valens," in *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7A:2, 1948, 2114.

⁵⁹ O. Seeck, "Zur Chronologie und Quellenkritik des Ammianus Marcellinus," *Hermes* 41, Berlin 1906, 518-521.

⁶⁰ This alliance was cited later by the Roman accusers of Pap, see Ammianus XXX, 1, 3.

agreed to the partitioning of that kingdom.⁶¹ According to Ammianus, “when he (Sauromaces) had nearly reached the River Cyrus (Kur), Aspacures (the Persian appointee) begged him that they should, being cousins, rule the country with conjoint authority, pleading that he could not withdraw or go to the Roman side, for the reason that *his son Ultra was still held in the condition of a hostage by the Persians*” (XXVII, 12, 16, my italics). “To keep the peace,” Valens agreed to the division of Iberia with the River Cyrus as the boundary line between the pro-Roman and pro-Persian factions (XXVII, 12, 17). According to this agreement Sauromaces was left to rule over southwestern Iberia bordering on Armenia and Lazica, and Aspacures ruled over eastern Iberia bordering on Albania and Persia.⁶²

The immediate result of these events was a triumph of considerable magnitude for the Persians; the Armenian king Pap was won over as a political ally, and the pro-Persian Aspacures remained in power in partitioned Iberia.⁶³ Even after his subsequent military encounter with Roman troops at the inconclusive battle of Bagavan (Vagabanta) in 373 (Ammianus XXIX, 1, 1 f.), Shapur’s influence in the Caucasian states remained undiminished.⁶⁴

It is precisely the events for the years 370–371 that find graphic expression in Bishapur VI. Following the format of double registers adopted earlier for the representations of the triumphs of Shapur’s great grandfather and namesake, Bishapur VI depicts the majestically enthroned king reviewing his troops as tokens of victory are ushered into his presence. References to Shapur’s successful campaigns and diplomacy in Armenia during these years are specific. The two severed heads, proffered by the envoy leading the procession in the Lower Register Right, may be identified with the heads of “Cylaces” and “Artabanus,” the two Armenian renegades who were executed at Pap’s orders to prove the latter’s submission to Shapur. Whereas the severed head with short hair and beard may be identified with that of the Armenian commander-in-chief “Artabanus,” the beardless head with a long diadem and helmet must belong to the former governor of Armenia, the “eunuch Cylaces” (fig. 10). The “Cylaces” of the account of Ammianus is generally identified with Głak (Gylaces), the fourth century Armenian Grand Chamberlain (*bayr mardpet*).⁶⁵ Like his Roman counterpart, but unlike the holder of the equivalent office in Iran, the Grand Chamberlain of Armenia was traditionally a eunuch.⁶⁶ In addition to the duties as “Chief Storekeeper,” which like those carried by the holder of the similar office in Iran that gave him custody of the royal treasures, the Armenian Grand Chamberlain

⁶¹ For the chronological sequence of events for the years 368–371, see Nagel, “Valens,” 2114f. Baynes’ chronology for events between 370 and 373 is in disagreement with that given by Ammianus and with that generally accepted for these years by others, see Garsoian, “Politique ou orthodoxie ?” 300f., n. 16. See also Justi, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* II, 524, n. 4; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 460f.

⁶² These events are also echoed in the Iberian historical tradition, see Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 460f.

⁶³ K. V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul’ture kavkazskoi Albanii*, Moskva 1959, 198. On the cession of Iberia to Shapur II after the treaty of 363, Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 360.

⁶⁴ Aspacures is still mentioned as king of Iberia in 374, see Ammianus XXX, 2, 2). For the location of Bagavan, see J. Markwart, *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte IV, Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Wien 1930, 78; H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to ancient World Trade*, tr. N. Garsoian, Lisbon 1965, 86; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 309, 319f.

⁶⁵ MI *gilak or *gulak “little flower,” see Markwart, *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte IV*, 154, n. 1; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 178, n. 118.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Faustus IV, 14, V, 7.

was also charged with the tombs of the Arsacid dynasty of Armenia at certain locations.⁶⁷ His office was evidently joined to that of *mardpet* (Faustus IV, 14, V, 6, 7) which until the fifth century exercised control over the territory from Van to Atropatene.⁶⁸ A *hayr mardpet* named Głak was executed by the Armenian king Pap (A.D. 367–374) in two different versions of the incident reported by Faustus (V, 3, V, 6).

Głak's co-conspirator, "Artabanus" or Arrabanus (Arm. Aṙvan), held the office of *hazarapet*, described by Ammianus as *magister armorum* or commander-in-chief.⁶⁹ The equivalent Iranian *hazārbed*, which originally denoted the office of the commander of the King's bodyguard, designated the office of the Prime Minister or head of civil administration in the Sasanian state.⁷⁰ The hereditary Armenian office of *hazarapet* was evidently held by the house of Gnuni, situated on the northern shores of Lake Van.⁷¹ The alliance between the holder of these important offices and Shapur would have involved the latter in both the civil and the military affairs of Armenia.

The third severed head in the Lower Register Right in Bishapur VI, is carried before the procession bearing the Arsacid treasures from Artagerk' castle. This head, which is beardless and shown with a diadem and a helmet topped with a lion's head (fig. 11), must surely belong to the influential Armenian queen-mother, P'arandzem, who had consistently rejected détente with Persia. If the precious vessels and articles in the same register are seen as allusions to the fall of Artagerk' in 370, then the presence of the elephant in the same register may be understood as a reference to the war elephants that figured so prominently in Shapur's wars with the West.⁷² The importance of Artagerk' (Artaxata) for the Persians was doubtless due to that town's function as a commercial center and storage depot on one of the main East-West thoroughfares.⁷³ To the west of Artagerk' extended the major highway across the Armenian tableland to the Black Sea ports and to Asia Minor. Southward from Artagerk', the great highway led down the Araxes valley to Ganjak in Atropatene, and thence to the transcontinental trade route across the Iranian plateau.⁷⁴ Artagerk' evidently retained its strategic and commercial importance into the fifth century when it was one of the three designated centers of international trade between Rome and Sasanian Persia.⁷⁵

In the light of the foregoing interpretation, the bound captives depicted in Bishapur VI

⁶⁷ The title of Chief Storekeeper of Iran (*Erān-ambāragbed*) is noted on the fifth century seal of Vehdinšāpūr, in the British Museum, see A.D.H. Bivar, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins: Sasanian Seals in the British Museum, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III, Pahlavi Inscriptions VI*, London 1968, 4–5, pl. XVII, 1, 3. See also Christensen, *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, 215.

⁶⁸ Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 170.

⁶⁹ Markwart, *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* IV, 154, n. 1, 156f.

⁷⁰ Christensen, *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, 113f.; N. Adontz, *Armenia v ēpokhu Iustiniana*, Erevan 1971, 445f., 468f.; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 205, n. 234.

⁷¹ Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, 205.

⁷² Ammianus XIX, 2, 3, passim; J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris 1904, 70.

⁷³ The importance attached to a sea route connecting the Oxus and Cyrus rivers by way of the Caspian Sea, was evidently overstated by D. Magie (in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1919:1*, Washington 1923, 302), see Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to ancient World Trade*, 50.

⁷⁴ Based on Pliny's report, Manandian (ibid.) gives the distance between Artaxata and Ganjak as 336 km. Ganjak was at the same distance from Ecbatana.

⁷⁵ In the fifth and sixth centuries, land trade between Rome and Persia was directed through Callinicum on the Roman side, and Nisibis and Artaxata on the Persian, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* II, Norman, Oklahoma 1964, 826f.; Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, 80f.

(figs. 8, 11), including the one shown with a sword slung from a baldric in Roman fashion, attest to the capture of Armenian military leaders who were reportedly replaced by pro-Persian counterparts after the fall of Armenian strongholds in 370.⁷⁶ Finally, in this context, the saddled and riderless horse portrayed in the Lower Register Right, generally seen as the king's mount, may well refer to the transport of the communiqué from Pap, possibly conveyed by the beardless official who approaches the king in the Upper Register Right (fig. 2).⁷⁷

The foregoing interpretation of Bishapur VI as a record of Armeno-Persian relations in 370–371, now fills an inexplicable gap in Sasanian rock sculpture devoted to the depiction of the triumphs of Shapur II.⁷⁸ Whereas the comparative study of the stylistic and iconographic particulars of Bishapur VI has yielded some surprising parallels between that relief and Roman art of the fourth century, the analysis of the relief's pictorial content reveals its solid ties with the older Sasanian tradition of pictorial narration. Like the representations of historical documentaries in rock reliefs from the reign of Shapur I, the complementary method of pictorial narrations distinguishes the composition of Bishapur VI.

Most prominent in this composition is the scene of the presentation to Shapur II of the tokens of alliance sent by the Armenian king Pap. Relevant information on the background of this scene is graphically expressed through references to the Persian seizure of the Armenian stronghold Artagerk' (Artaxata) and the execution of P'arandzem, the champion of the pro-Roman faction at Artagerk', and to the extension of Shapur's political influence in Iberia. If the combination of stucco and stone relief in Bishapur VI is to be regarded as a contrivance designed to serve as a preview, or a preliminary stage in the carving of that relief,⁷⁹ then Pap's murder by the Romans in 374 (Ammianus XXX, 1, 1 f.) may have contributed to the abandonment of the artistic project that celebrated a Persian alliance with that Armenian king.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Baynes, "Rome and Armenia in the Fourth Century," 638, n. 71. For a corrected chronological sequence, see Nagel, "Valens," 2114.

⁷⁷ The "Roman" saddle of the horse in Bishapur VI, which Lukonin dated to no later than the third century (*Iran ve III veke*, 131), finds later parallels in Roman art, cf. "Siege of Verona," from the Arch of Constantine in Rome, Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome: The Late Empire*, fig. 67.

⁷⁸ See Christensen's comment "Voilà dans les grands traits les événements de la guerre de quarante ans de Shāpuhr II avec Rome. Aucune main d'artiste n'a gravé sur les rochers de l'Iran des scènes de cette lutte entre les deux grandes puissances du monde antique." *L'Iran sous les sassanides*, 240.

⁷⁹ Herrmann, *The Rock Reliefs at Bishapur: Part 2*, 21 f.

⁸⁰ Herrmann suggests that the application of the stucco over the apparently incomplete stone carving in Bishapur VI was designed to prepare the relief for exhibition on some occasion prior to its eventual completion. In this light it may be reasonable to contemplate two stages in the carving of the investiture and triumph of Shapur II, at Taq-i Bustan. The final carving of that relief may have followed by several decades the first version which would have been displayed shortly after Shapur's treaty with Jovian in 363. A late fourth century date for the Taq-i Bustan relief is compatible with its stylistic and iconographic particulars, see G. Azarpay, "The Role of Mithra in the Investiture and Triumph of Šāpūr II," *Iranica Antiqua* XVI, 1982, 7.

CHAPTER 30

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARTS IN TRANSOXIANA

I

In the Persian epic Firdausī portrayed his conception of the ancient past as a tripartite world in which Iran and Tūrān interacted as the principal antagonists. Tūrān, or Transoxiana, was there vaguely defined as the area between the Oxus River and Khotan “on the frontiers of China”. *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam* gives a more detailed geographical picture of Transoxiana in the 10th century: “The Marches (*ḥudūd*) of Transoxiana are scattered districts, some lying to the east of Transoxiana, and some to the west of it. East of the Eastern Marches of Transoxiana are the borders of Tibet and Hindūstān; south of them, the [Marches] of Khurāsān; west of them, the borders of Chaghāniyān; and north of them, the borders of Surūshana which belong to Transoxiana . . . This is a vast, prosperous, and very pleasant country. It is the Gate of Turkestan and a resort of merchants.”¹ Today Transoxiana would be the roughly rectangular area between the Āmū Daryā (Oxus) and the Syr Daryā (Jaxartes) rivers, which flow into the Aral Sea from the Pamir and Tien Shan mountain ranges respectively.

In antiquity the river boundaries of Transoxiana were neither impassable barriers nor isolating features. The lower course of the Āmū Daryā, which lies in the Turkmen plain, is accessible from the flatlands surrounding the Aral Sea. The middle course of the river rises northeast of Marv (Murghāb valley), and its upper course forms the present-day borders between Afghanistan and the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan as far as Badakhshān in the Pamir range. The lower course of the Syr Darya passes from the southern shores of the Aral Sea through flat plains (Soviet Kazakhstan), rising rapidly east of Tashkent and along the Farghāna basin, fed by headwaters in the Tien Shan range in Soviet Kirghizia.

¹ *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*, pp. 119, 112. To facilitate cross-reference with Russian sources some Central Asian place names are here transcribed directly from the Cyrillic. The Cyrillic soft and hard sounds have been omitted in the transcription of Russian terms.

THE ARTS IN TRANSOXIANA

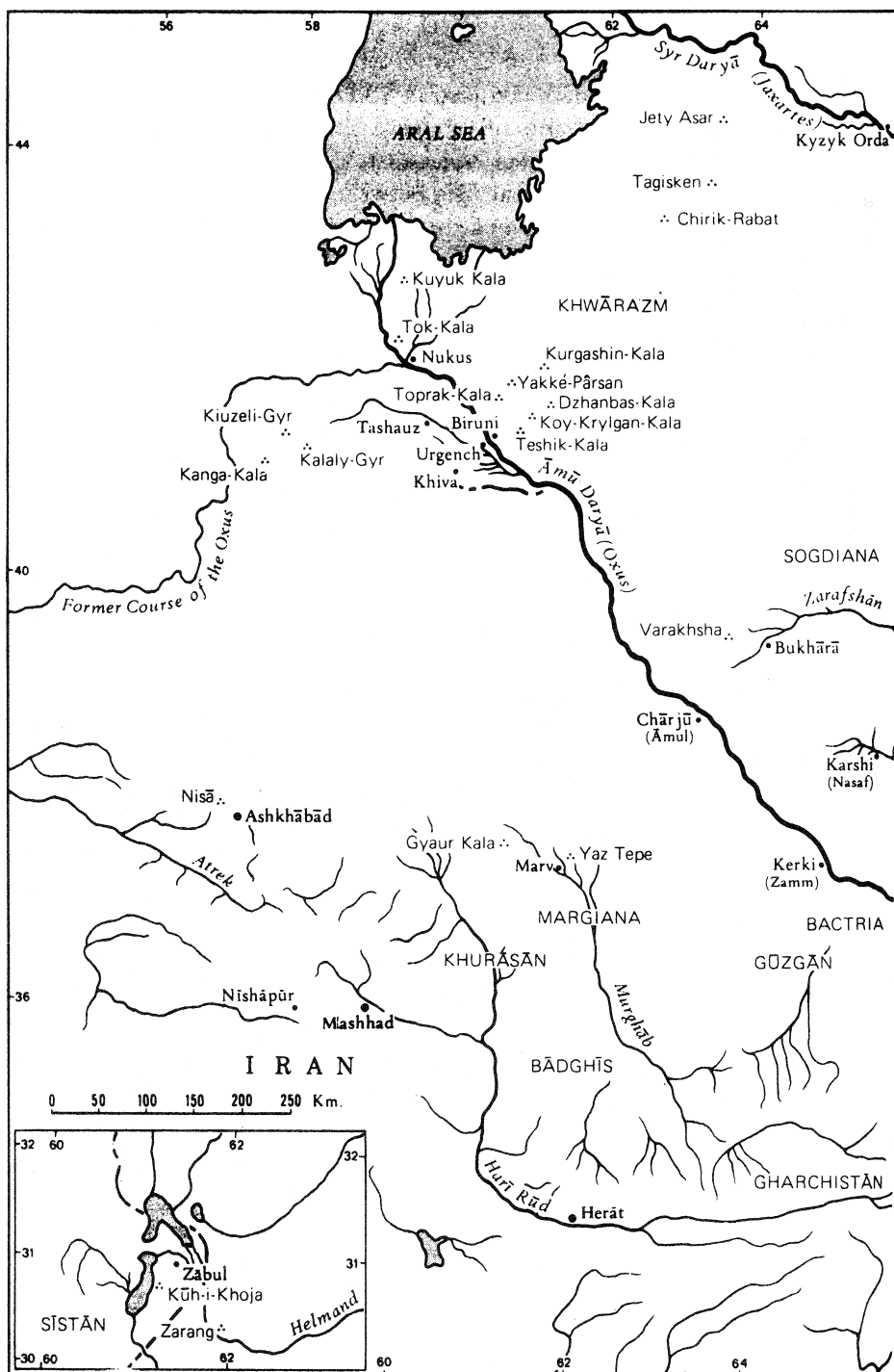
Recent scholarship and excavations in Central Asia have lent substance to the legendary civilization of Transoxiana, and have considerably enlarged our frame of reference since the beginning of the 20th century when the Russian orientalist V. V. Barthold wrote, "Nearly all we know about Central Asia between the 2nd century B.C. and the 7th century A.D. has been extracted from Chinese sources."¹ The cultural development of Transoxiana from the 3rd century B.C. until the Muslim period was closely connected with three, or possibly four, known linguistic entities that may be associated with definite geographical areas. Choresmian (Khwarazmian), Sogdian and Bactrian, all three Middle Iranian languages, constituted the native speech of Khwārazm in the delta region, Sogdiana (Zarafashān and Kashka Daryā basins, north of the Hīṣār range), and Bactria or Kushān Tukhāristān (both banks of the Āmū Daryā along its middle course). Aramaic letters were used in a fourth script, tentatively identified as the "Farghāna" script by V. A. Livshits, who would date it to the 5th or 6th century B.C.²

Archaeological discoveries in Transoxiana suggest a twofold relationship between Iran and its eastern neighbours in the early Middle Ages. While the art and architecture of Transoxiana display stylistic, thematic and typological links with the traditions of Parthian and Sasanian Iran, there are distinctive differences between them. A strong secular trend generally pervades the art and architecture of Sogdiana and distinguishes this tradition from that of Buddhist and Hindu India and the official canons of the court art of Iran. This secular trend in the folk art of Transoxiana resulted in a complex and brilliant series of narrative wall-paintings that have been uncovered in both public and domestic structures in several Sogdian town sites. In Sogdiana the pageantry and style of a feudalistic society are portrayed in an artistic idiom that combines local and borrowed elements in a highly original manner. The extent of the influence of this distinctive and secular tradition of painting on the development of miniature painting in Muslim times is still undetermined. However, the stylistic and iconographic links between the two suggest the existence of Sogdian antecedents for some of the artistic formulas found in the later miniature painting tradition.

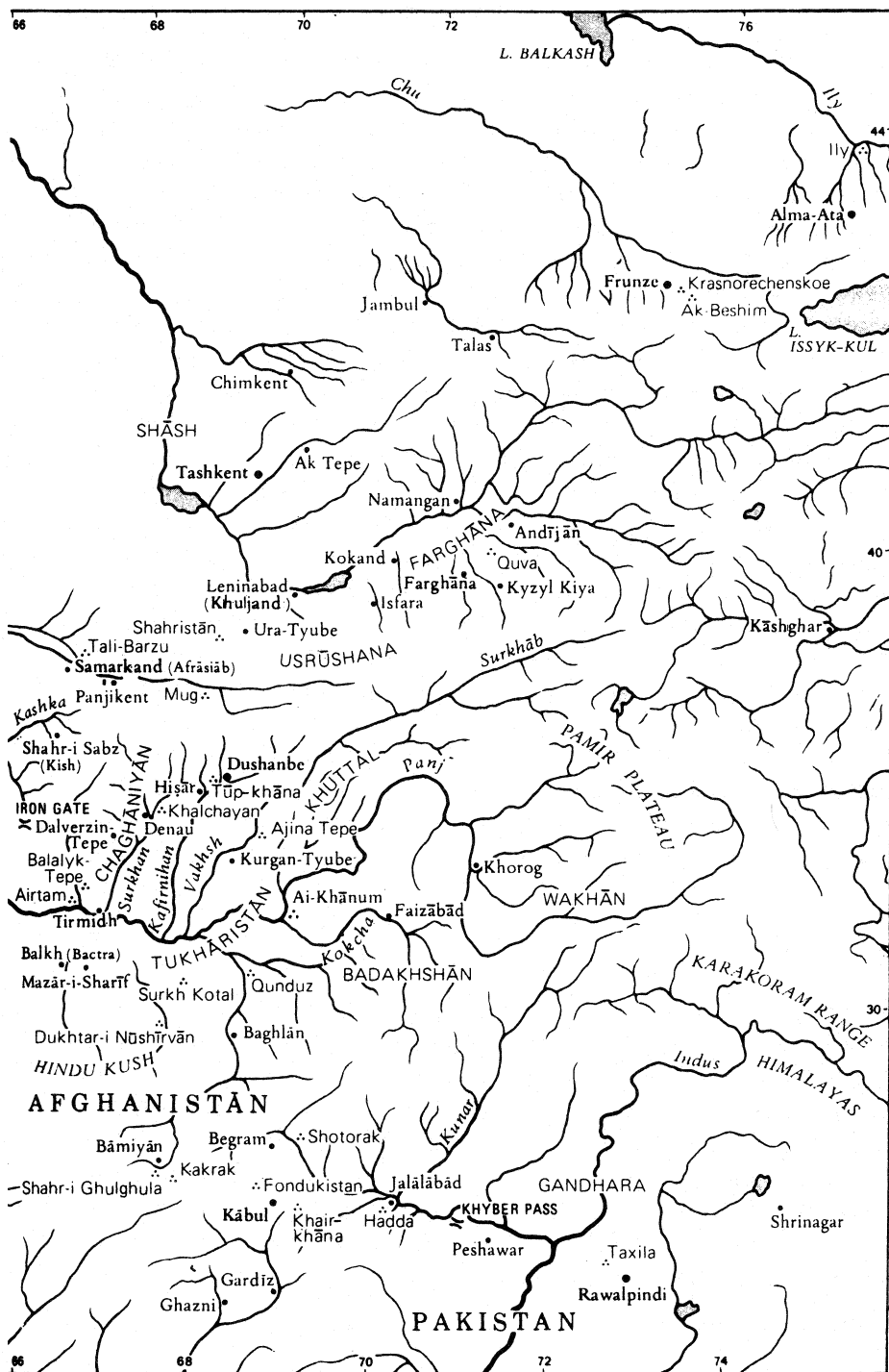
The heroic and episodic character of the Sogdian murals appears to

¹ Barthold, "A Short History", p. 4.

² Reported by V. A. Livshits in an oral communication in October 1968.



Map 16. Map of Transoxiana showing the distribution of ancient and early mediaeval sites.



reflect the same ideals of a feudalistic society as those of the Persian epics. It is assumed that the perpetuation of a tradition of knightly virtues in Transoxiana resulted from the survival there of the feudalistic social and cultural structures that had disappeared in Iran under the centralized Sasanian state. Firdausi's epic, which has been linked with legends created and preserved by the minstrels (*gōsān*) of the Parthian age of feudalism in Iran, thus finds a graphic counterpart in Transoxiana where the ideals of a feudalistic society were perpetuated long after their disappearance in Iran.¹ To the Persians of the early Middle Ages, however, Transoxiana represented more than a ready reserve of legend where hoary knights were pitted against unpredictable, impetuous and unhuman *dīvs*. Tūrān was also the arena for a contest of wits in which Persians were matched against rational men whose moral codes and social patterns were similar to their own. Firdausi portrays the Turanian leader, Afrāsiyāb, as an equivocal figure whose treacherous schemes and flair for "Byzantine" intrigue were equalled by his profound wisdom, generosity and extraordinary valour. But legend would seem to have only embellished the intense conflicts between Iran and its eastern neighbours that resulted from the genuine threat which the latter presented to the political and economic security of the Iranian state. Despite its history of political fragmentation, punctuated by nomadic inroads, the resourceful merchants, missionaries and military personnel of Transoxiana contributed towards the creation of the resplendent period of cultural florescence and economic prosperity in Central Asia in early medieval times.

II

Khwārazm I

As the northernmost part of Transoxiana, pre-Islamic Khwārazm had experienced a relatively long and sophisticated civilization prior to the Muslim conquest. The early beginning of the Khwarazmian civilization in the Oxus delta was probably a result of its geographical accessibility and its agricultural potential. The distinctive Khwarazmian Neolithic Keltminar culture developed at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. on the banks of the now dry Akcha Daryā, east of Bīrūnī. The archaeological picture of Bronze Age Khwārazm demonstrates what may be termed a continuum of Saka culture, which was clearly interrupted

¹ M. Boyce, "Zariadres and Zarer", *BSOAS* xvii (1955), 47ff; Frye, *Heritage*, pp. 118ff, 235ff.

during two periods of urban development that preceded and followed the Sasanian dynasty in Iran. W. B. Henning convincingly correlated the spurt of the pre-Islamic Khwarazmian civilization with the degree of Khwarazmian independence from Sasanian rule; his argument suggests a reorganization of S. P. Tolstov's chronological classification of historic sites in pre-Islamic Khwārazm.

The *first phase* of Khwarazmian urban development corresponds with the downfall of the Achaemenians, at which time ancient Khwārazm (Huvārazmīš) gained independence from Persian rule. Under the supervision and maintenance of a ruling class, a network of irrigation canals was developed in the delta of the Āmū Daryā, which watered the fields about fortified settlements of the "Archaic" period, such as those excavated at Kyuzeli-gyr and Kalaly-gyr I (west of Tashauz on the Āmū Daryā delta). Kyuzeli-gyr was protected by projecting towers connected by a string of walls within the thickness of which were built contiguous triple corridors (width 2.5–4 m). These "habitable walls" formed an irregular ring around three tower-like structures and a hall constructed of mud brick of the standard size of 40 by 40 by 10 cm, identical to those used in other Khwarazmian buildings. The addition of "bent-axis" entrances to the fortification walls at Kalaly-gyr I suggests comparison with Parthian architectural principles.

During the subsequent "classical" or "K'ang-kyo" period the Khwarazmian language was committed to writing, as indicated by Middle Iranian words written in Aramaic letters on large clay jars (Persian *khum*) found in the necropolis of Koī-krylgan-kala.¹ When Tolstov termed the pinnacle of the pre-Islamic civilization of Khwārazm the "K'ang-kyo" period, he followed Barthold's identification of Khwārazm with the appellation *K'ang-chü* of the Chinese sources. The survival of the term *kang* in connection with townships in Transoxiana was regarded by Tolstov as proof of this assumption. Chang Ch'ien's references to K'ang-chü evidently applied to a confederation of tribes that in the 2nd century B.C. inhabited five agricultural regions in Transoxiana, north of Bactria. To the east of the K'ang-chü were the Huns or Hsiung-nu who presumably occupied the area east of the Syr Daryā. The K'ang-chü state probably comprised agricultural communities and townships and nomadic tribal groups who may have represented the governing body within the confederation. Despite the fact that later Chinese sources (*T'ang shu*, ch. 146b) equated K'ang-chü with the

¹ Henning, "Mitteliranisch", p. 25 n. 2.

Sogdian city of Samarqand, which at that time figured as the most notable city of Central Asia, the heartland of Chang Ch'ien's K'ang-chü probably lay farther north.¹ In medieval times Khwārazm was associated by Bīrūnī with Siyāvush, the legendary founder of that country, who was credited with the rebuilding of a Kang-dizh and with the founding of various towns in Pahlavī and Muslim sources. Firdausī's description of Kang-dizh as a citadel on a precipitous mountain overlooking the plain, however, is at variance with the physical landmarks of Khwārazm in its more limited geographical sense. The recent attempt by B. A. Litvinskii to link a number of archaeological finds, datable from the 2nd century B.C. to the 4th century A.D., with the K'ang-chü confederacy marks a step towards the identification of the K'ang-chü state as a historical reality in Transoxiana.²

Just east of Bīrūnī in the Kyzyl-kum desert lies the fortified citadel of Koī-krylgan-kala, which originally towered over a surrounding town (figs. 1-2). The fort was built as a cylindrical two-storied structure, 42 m in diameter, containing vaulted chambers and storage rooms surrounded by a gallery with archers' slits pierced through the citadel drum. Workmen's quarters and storage chambers constituted the rooms built radially between the citadel drum and the outer ring of defensive walls (diam. 87.5 m). The circular plan, the standard brick size, the projecting defensive towers, and the "bent-axis" entrance of this fort combine elements from the earlier Bronze Age and the "Archaic" structures from Khwārazm, while the inventory from the site parallels that of other Central Asian sites datable to the Parthian period in Iran. A strain of hellenistic stylistic conventions may be detected in the figural representations on Khwarazmian ceramic canteens from Koī-krylgan-kala, although their thematic content appears to have had a more limited regional application (cf. a griffin-topped helmet on a male head and an equestrian lancer with a Scythian-type headdress that establish formal antecedents for such representations in later Khwarazmian art). Fragmentary murals from the latest building level at this fort

¹ Watson, *Shih chi*, p. 123; Pulleyblank, "The Wu-sun and Sakas"; Litvinskii, *Drevnie kočevniki*, pp. 171ff. I wish to thank Professor E. H. Schafer for his helpful comments on the Chinese sources in regard to this question.

² Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 40-2; Firdausī, J. A. Vuller's Persian text II, 617ff. No general agreement exists on the question of the location of the Kangdiz of the Pahlavī sources; cf. J. Darmesteter, *The Zand Avesta* (SBE xxiii 2, Oxford, 1883), 67; J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Principal Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), pp. 23ff. On various suggestions for the location of K'ang-chü, see Shiratori, "A Study of Su-t'ê", pp. 81-145; Frye, "Tarxūn-Turxūn", pp. 123-6; Maenchen, "Huns and Hsiung-nu", p. 230; Litvinskii, "Dzhunskii mogilnik", pp. 29-37.

KHWĀRAZM

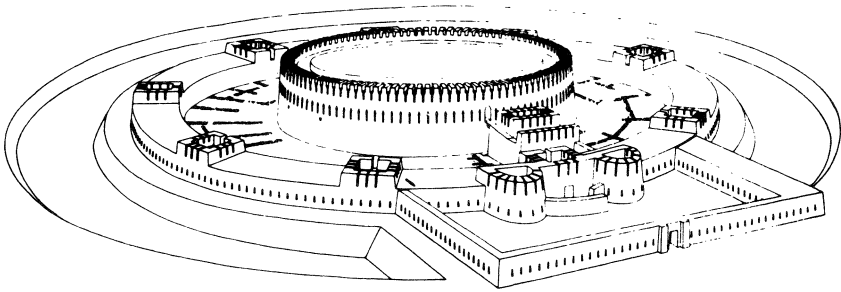


Fig. 1. Sketch of a reconstruction of the Khwarazmian fort of Koi-krylgan-kala, c. 1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.

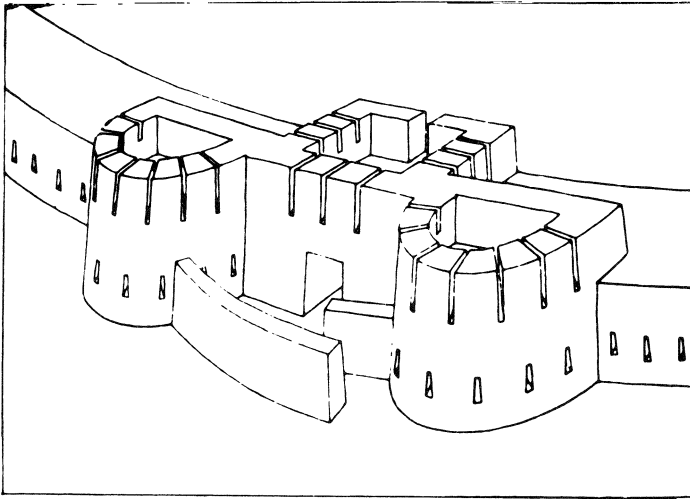


Fig. 2. Sketch of a reconstruction of the Khwarazmian fort of Koi-krylgan-kala, showing the second gateway with its "bent-axis" entrance.

display a linear style with colours applied in flat washes, generally without the use of shading; these characteristics associate this artistic school with the Graeco-Iranian style of the Parthian paintings from Kūh-i Khwāja (Sistān) and Khwarazmian murals from the royal palace at Toprak-kala (see below).¹ The function of this monumental fort is still disputed. However, the presence of numerous ossuaries and ash urns within the complex and its neighbourhood, and the similarity

¹ E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York, 1941), pp. 301ff, pl. CI-CIV; Schlumberger, *Der hellenisierte Orient*, p. 189.

between the circular plan of the fort and the plan of smaller Khwarazmian Bronze Age and Saka burials (cf. Tagisken) and tower-shaped ossuaries, have led to the tentative identification of the structure at Koï-krylgan-kala as a funerary monument.¹

To the latest level at Koï-krylgan-kala belong a number of terra cotta sculptures that served to preserve the likeness of the deceased on ossuaries. These portraits are evidently derived from the "face-urn" receptacles for cremated ashes which antedate the ossuaries in Khwārazm. The life-size seated male figure from the vicinity of Koï-krylgan-kala, originally attached to an ossuary (pl. 121), is remarkable for its monumentality and for the simplicity and directness of its expression. The roughly triangular face, short pointed beard, shoulder-length hair, torque, and the flat body planes of this figure recall Parthian sculpture of around the 1st and 2nd centuries. A second ossuary figure from the Koï-krylgan-kala area, however, has soft rounded contours, large oval face and prominent chin that associate it with the style of the sculptures from Toprak-kala (see below). The similarities between the sculptures and painting styles from Koï-krylgan-kala and those from Toprak-kala suggest that the two may have overlapped in time.

Excavations at Toprak-kala, north-east of Bīrūnī, have uncovered an early medieval Khwarazmian town site that included a rectangular walled enclosure (500 by 350 m) with a palace (80 by 80 m) constructed against its northern wall. The limits of an "Inner Palace" were defined by two massive towers (40 by 40 m) constructed on the northern wall; a third tower marked the southern limits of the "harem" within the royal residence. The façade of the palace, facing east, was evidently decorated with life-size alabaster sculptures, whereas monumental stucco sculptures and murals decorated the interior of the palace. Female figures represented in profile and three-quarters view constituted the subject matter of the murals from the "harem" (pl. 122). These were executed by means of variegated brush strokes that define contours and fill in details. The figures are placed against a shallow two-dimensional background, which in some examples is patterned with heart-shaped motifs like those found in paintings of the Parthian period from as far afield as a Sarmatian catacomb at Kerch on the Black Sea and the Buddhist remains from Mirān in eastern Turkestan.²

¹ Tolstov and Vainberg, *Koï-krylgan-kala*, pp. 255ff; Rapoport and Lapirov-Skoblo, "Bashneobruzhnye Khorezmiiskie ossuarii", pp. 147-56.

² I. M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (London, 1922), pp. 160ff, pl. xxviii-xxix; Bussagli, "Paintings", pp. 22ff.

A narrow corridor with arched doorways connected a series of large halls that constituted the "Inner Palace" at Toprak-kala. The upper segment of the walls of the "Hall of Kings" (28 m³) was pierced with niches that contained monumental royal portraits fashioned in painted terracotta and executed with a unique blend of realism, hellenistic illusionism and decorative formality. The large oval heads, the protruding lower lips and the round eyes and massive body proportions of these figures (pls. 123-4) distinguish them from the later ideal type in Sogdian art, where the size of the human head in proportion to the elongated body is considerably reduced (pls. 125, 147). While portrait heads, such as that of the dark-complexioned warrior from the "Hall of the Dark Guards" and some patterns of dress and ornament may represent strictly regional expressions, the style and iconography of the sculptures and murals from Toprak-kala associate the latter with the more general Graeco-Iranian style of the east Iranian world in Parthian times.

Tolstov, who believed Kushān rule to have extended to the shores of the Aral Sea during the 2nd to 4th centuries A.D., dated the Toprak-kala palace to the 3rd or 4th century A.D. on the following grounds: (1) dated documents from the palace at Toprak-kala, (2) numismatic evidence from the site, (3) the presence of the Dravidian physical type in Khwārazm in Kushān times and (4) Indian artistic influences in works of art from the site. The assumption of Kushān domination of Khwārazm has since been questioned, chiefly because of the lack of concrete archaeological evidence, the absence of Buddhism in Khwārazm and the reliance of the Khwarazmian era upon an event of local significance that probably occurred some time during the period 42 B.C. to A.D. 20.¹ Moreover, in a study of numismatic material from Toprak-kala, V. M. Masson satisfactorily linked the Khwarazmian coins from Toprak-kala (pl. 126) with Graeco-Bactrian coin types rather than with the later Kushān numismatic tradition.² The Dravidian physical type found among the skeletal remains in Khwārazm and recorded in the terracotta head from the "Hall of the Dark Guards", Tolstov admits, may indicate the continuation of an Indo-Dravidian substratum in the population of Khwārazm from Neolithic and Bronze Age times, an assumption for which there is some material support. Finally, Tolstov's comparison

¹ Henning, "The Choresmian Documents", pp. 166-79; Livshits, "Khwarezmian Calendar", pp. 433-46; Azarpay, "Nine Inscribed Choresmian bowls", p. 203n.

² V. M. Masson, "Khorezm i Kushany", pp. 79-84.

of the Toprak-kala paintings with the Indian paintings from Ajanta from the 3rd and 4th centuries (the "dark" period of Indian painting) remains inconclusive. While the assumption of Kushān political domination of Khwārazm does not appear to be warranted by the available evidence, contact between the Aral Sea region and Bactria doubtless inspired the Graeco-Iranian iconography and the expression of the dynastic cult housed in monuments for which there exist both Kushān and Parthian counterparts.¹ The destruction of the Toprak-kala palace, associated by Henning with an early Sasanian campaign, can be placed in the early part of the 3rd century, after which time the site may have been briefly occupied before its abandonment.²

Soon after the fall of Toprak-kala the network of irrigation canals around the Āmū Daryā delta fell into disrepair, the towns were abandoned or neglected and an economic crisis confronted the Khwarazmian state. Tolstov connects these events with the penetration of steppe elements represented by the "Chionite-Hephthalites" in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. This barbarian migration, which was doubtless facilitated by the loss of Khwarazmian autonomy after the Sasanian attacks, is demonstrated by the appearance of a strong Mongoloid strain among the Europoid population of Khwārazm particularly towards its frontiers (cf. Kanga-kala).

Khwārazm II

The *second phase* of pre-Islamic urban development in Khwārazm corresponds with the post- or late Sasanian epoch in Iran when Khwārazm enjoyed a brief period of autonomy under the rule of a local dynasty (the "Afrighid" period). Excavations of the ancient cemetery of Kuyuk-kala and Tok-kala, both north of Nukus, revealed the continuation of the earlier Khwarazmian practice of burial of human bones in receptacles or ossuaries. On the alabaster ossuaries from Tok-kala were occasionally painted scenes of mourning executed in a linear and two-dimensional style, simplified versions of similar scenes of mourning depicted in a mural from Sogdiana and on a painted urn from Mary where parallel funerary rituals were evidently observed.³ The continued

¹ Schlumberger, pp. 189ff.

² Henning, "The Choresmian Documents", pp. 170; Livshits, "Khwarezmian Calendar", pp. 433ff.

³ Yakubovskii, p. 111, pl. XIX-XXIII; G. A. Koshelenko, "Unikalnaya vaza iz Merva", *VDI* 1966:1, pp. 92-105, fig. 4.

SOGDIANA AND NORTHERN BACTRIA

use of ossuary sculpture in Sogdiana in the 5th to 8th centuries A.D. is proof of even earlier cultural ties between the latter region and northern Transoxiana (pl. 127). The dates of the Tok-kala painted ossuaries, indicated in Khwarazmian inscriptions on the alabaster receptacles, show a range of A.D. 616–711, which corresponds with the brief renaissance of the Khwarazmian pre-Islamic civilization before the Arab destruction of the site in A.D. 712. Cultural continuity between the first and second phases of urban development in Khwārazm may be observed in the persistence of references to the local Khwarazmian era, in Khwarazmian coinage (pl. 128), and in the survival of earlier artistic and iconographic formulas up to the time of the Muslim conquest of Khwārazm.

III. SOGDIANA AND NORTHERN BACTRIA (TUKHĀRISTĀN)

In Parthian times Transoxiana south of the Khwarazmian delta adhered either to the Sogdian cultural complex (centred around the Zarafshān and Kashka Daryā rivers) or to the culture of northern Bactria (both banks of the Āmū Daryā along its middle course). Geographical proximity was naturally a factor in the predominance of one or the other of these two major sources of influence, as demonstrated by the affinity between the Farghāna and Chāch (Tashkent oasis) cultures and that of Sogdiana. Throughout the ancient and early medieval periods the settled communities of these areas practised an agricultural form of economy based on artificial irrigation, traces of which are preserved in these river valley regions.

Numismatic data from the 3rd century B.C. suggest that some Sogdian oases such as Marakanda (identified with the Afrāsiyāb section of modern Samarqand) were under the influence of Bactria (north of the Hindu Kush) and the Graceo-Bactrian kings. However, Sogdian cities were probably independent of the Kushān successors of the Graeco-Bactrians who, nevertheless, exerted a lasting influence upon the Sogdian civilization.¹ Sogdian minor arts of the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D. display lingering traces of hellenistic iconography in the local coinage and in terracotta figurines from the Samarqand area (pl. 129), while Sogdian contact with Kushān Tukhāristān (as Bactria came to be known under the Kushāns) is recorded by the presence in Sogdiana of grey and red pottery covered with similarly coloured slips.

¹ Nilsen, "Kyzyl-kyr", pp. 60–78; Grigorev, "Gorodishche Tali-Barzu", pp. 87ff. For north Bactrian architecture of this period, see B. A. Litvinskii and Kh. Mukhitdinov in *Sovetskaya arkhéologiya* 1969:2, pp. 160–78.

Such features as vertical handles, tall footed vessels, and bands of large curvilinear patterns painted freely on the vessel in a dark red slip, however, are distinctively Sogdian. The meagre Sogdian architectural remains of this period from Kyzyl-kyr (northwest of Bukhārā) and Tal-i Barzu (Samarkand area) compare closely with the architectural patterns of Khwārazm expressed in the mud-brick vaulted chambers with the continuous wall bench (*suffa*); these elements distinguish the architectural tradition of northern Transoxiana from that of the south or Turkhāristān, where post and lintel structures and stone masonry of the hellenistic past survived until the end of the Kushān period.¹

The Graeco-Bactrian city of Tirmidh, founded near the confluence of the Surkhān Daryā and the Āmū Daryā rivers, was evidently a flourishing Buddhist community and an important Kushān frontier town until the 4th century A.D. The presence of post-and-lintel-type buildings, stone-column bases, Corinthian-type capitals, stone cornices and masonry, hellenistic motifs, and finally, the discovery of Bactrian inscriptions at Tirmidh place the city firmly within the Kushān cultural sphere. Appropriately, the monumental Airtam frieze from Tirmidh, now in the Hermitage Museum, illustrates the blend of Graeco-Bactrian and Indian stylistic conventions which found Kushān patronage in the contemporaneous art of Gandhara in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. The question of the origin of Mediterranean influence in Central Asia, prior to the spread of Buddhism there, may be re-examined in the light of the discovery of the hellenistic city of Aī Khanum, tentatively identified by P. Bernard as Ptolemy's *Alexandria Oxiana* (v. 12.6) on the left bank of the Oxus. Founded by successors of Alexander, this hellenistic city survived in the heart of Central Asia until its destruction by a wave of nomads c. 100 B.C. The more purely hellenistic art of Aī Khanum thus represented the first stage in the development of the Graeco-Iranian style in the early Kushān period, as defined by Daniel Schlumberger.² The early Bactrian artistic school which grew in this medium evidently served a largely secular function among the nomadic ruling classes of Bactria, whose own cultural patterns were clearly fused with those of the Graeco-Bactrians in the architecture of the palace, and in the murals and sculptures from Khalchayan, in the Surkhān Daryā basin (pls 75, 130-3). Some of the painted clay

¹ V. M. Masson, "Dnezhnoe Khozyaistvo drevnei Azii"; E. V. Zeimal, in *Numizmatika i épigrafika* III (Moscow, 1962), p. 145.

² Bernard, "Aī Khanum"; D. Schlumberger, in *JA* 1964, pp. 303-26; *idem*, in *Syria* xxxvii (1960), pp. 131-66, 253-318; *idem*, "Excavations of Surkh Kotal", pp. 77-95.

sculptures recovered in the small palace at Khalchayan (somewhat less than life-size), were identified by their excavator, G. A. Pugachenkova, as royal portraits of the rulers of this north Bactrian district in the early Kushān period.¹ Traces of hellenistic iconography and interest in portraiture distinguish this remarkable group of sculptures from a later series found at nearby Dalverzin-tepe, south of Dennai in southern Uzbekistan (pl. 134). Executed in painted plaster on a clay core, the more durable Dalverzin-tepe sculptures manifest a tendency towards standardization of figures as ideal types in a manner that suggests the influence of Buddhist artistic canons in this school of sculpture in northern Bactria. These sculptures were discovered in the vicinity of a Buddhist sanctuary and represent the early phase of the Buddhist art of northern Bactria in the Kushān period.

The Buddhist culture of northern Bactria is more fully recorded at Kara-tepe, at Tirmidh, which marks the site of the only Buddhist cave complex in western Turkestan. This religious centre dated from the time of Kanishka and his successors and was housed in some twenty-five cave complexes hewn in sandstone cliffs northwest of Old Tirmidh. The recent excavations of B. Ya. Staviskii at this site have yielded fragments of stucco and stone sculpture, murals and numerous inscriptions in Bactrian, Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhi scripts referring to the dedication of gifts by donors who presumably belonged to the Buddhist community of Tirmidh in Kushān times.²

The trade route that connected Tirmidh and medieval Chaghāniyān, in the Surkhān Daryā basin, with Sogdiana to the north and Tukhāristān to the south, was doubtless a source of prosperity for Tirmidh and other transit stations on the Oxus. The famed "Oxus Treasure" was presumably discovered on the same trade route at Takht-i Qubād, in Qubādiyān territory near the confluence of the Kafirniyān and the Oxus rivers, to the east of which lay medieval Khuttal (Vakhsh and Panj basins) and Badakhshān.³

The political fragmentation and collapse of the major Central Asian states in the 4th century was related to the aggressive military campaigns of the early Sasanians that exposed the Central Asian states to nomadic inroads. By the 5th century, when many of the small city-states in

¹ *Skulptura Khalchayana*, p. 130; for a later date suggested for this site, see Schlumberger, *Der hellenisierte Orient*, pp. 59ff.

² Staviskii, *Kara-Tepe*.

³ A. M. Belenitskii, *Trudy Tadzhikskaya arheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya* 1 (1950), 109ff.; Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*; Barnett, "The Art of Bactria and the Treasure of the Oxus".

Transoxiana had formed alliances (such as the coalition of Sogdian cities in the Zarafshān basin headed by Samarqand), the nomadic Hephthalites or White Huns had succeeded the Kushāns in Tukhārīstān. The Hephthalite rulers of Transoxiana evidently permitted a degree of independence to some economically powerful Central Asian principalities, such as Samarqand, Bukhārā and Farghāna, where local dynasties continued to rule throughout the Hephthalite period and even after the penetration of the western Turks into Transoxiana in the 6th century.

The site of Balalyk-tepe, north of Tirmidh, in the Surkhān Daryā basin, offers a rare opportunity for study of a residence associated with the Hephthalite ruling class in Transoxiana. The Sogdian "Bukhārā letters" found on coins from Balalyk-tepe indicate the date of 5th to 6th century A.D., suggested for the site by L. A. Albaum.¹ Balalyk-tepe was a country seat with a small fortress raised on a 30 by 30 m platform constituting a rectangular hall with surrounding corridors. After the 6th century the plan of this structure was altered to accommodate a rectangular chamber with a single entrance, ceiling illumination, wall bench, and a wooden cornice decorated with stucco moulding. The last detail recalls the Aīrtam frieze from nearby Tirmidh, which may have served as a prototype for the later building. The central hall at Balalyk-tepe was decorated with a continuous frieze of wall-paintings which reached a height of 1.8 m from the *suffa*. The subject matter, a banquet attended by groups of male and female members of a provincial aristocracy, was evidently secular (pl. 135). Placed against a flat and patterned background, the reclining and seated figures are arranged in a shallow pictorial space in which emphasis is given to contrasting areas of flat colour and two-dimensional forms. A silver vessel in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad displays a similar banquet with the principal figures represented in costumes identical to those found in the Balalyk-tepe paintings (cf. the sleeveless cape worn by the women, and the matted hair and the dress of the men). The date of 6th to 7th centuries thus indicated for the Hermitage silver dish is confirmed by a Sogdian inscription on the same vessel.²

It is probably purely due to chance that the Balalyk-tepe paintings have survived as examples of secular painting comparable to the

¹ On the "Bukhārā letters", and the coinage on which they occur, see R. N. Frye, *ANSNMN* 113 (1949), 1-50; *idem*, *ANSMN* IV (1950), 105-14; *idem*, *HJAS* XIX (1956), 106-25; Henning, "Mitteliranisch", pp. 52-5.

² Staviskii, "O datirovkie in proiskhozhdenii érmítazhnoi serebryanoi chashi . . ."; Livshits and Lukonin, p. 172, para. 20.

sophisticated Sogdian murals datable from the late 5th to the early 8th century. Therefore, regardless of their intrinsic value, the Surkhān Daryā paintings provide an important link between two major phases in the tradition of wall-painting in Central Asia. The assumption that the Bactrian artistic tradition continued into medieval times within the context of the Buddhist church has found material support in the excavations of the Buddhist monastery at Ajina-tepe in the Vakhsh valley, near Kurgan-tyube in Tajikistan. A massive stupa on a cruciform stepped base with a double flight of stairs on all four sides was housed in the small Buddhist monastery (100 by 50 m) at Ajina-tepe. This complex, with its adjacent courtyard, corridors and cells, was built entirely of mud-brick and clay blocks and decorated with murals and painted terracotta sculptures (pls. 136–7). A colossal figure of a recumbent Buddha (12 m), executed in stucco from moulds, occupied the length of one corridor, while smaller Buddhist images had been placed against the walls and inside wall niches throughout the entire structure. This unusually rich collection of Buddhist art of Bactria from the 7th and 8th centuries is marked by stylistic and iconographic traits that distinguish it from other Buddhist artistic schools of the 7th and 8th centuries in Central Asia (cf. Fundukistan, Quva in Farghāna).

For Sogdiana the 6th to the 8th century represented an age of exceptional prosperity and cultural growth reflected in new building projects that included the founding of new towns and the restoration and enlargement of older structures. The city of Panjikent, forty miles east of Samarkand on the Zarafshān river, was one of the Sogdian cities that were considerably enlarged in the 7th and 8th centuries. The relative importance of Panjikent in the Sogdian confederacy had increased considerably by the 8th century when Dīvāshhtich, the king of Panjikent, plotted an unsuccessful rebellion against Arab rule in Transoxiana. Panjikent, mentioned in the Sogdian royal archives from Mount Mugh, contained a walled city (*shahristān*), a fortified citadel, a necropolis and suburbs surrounded by an outer wall.¹ The shahristān at Panjikent was dominated by two rather similar and adjacent temple complexes, each with a sanctuary, a central tetrastyle hall and portico (*aivān*) (fig. 3). The last and brilliant phase of pre-Muslim Sogdian art is represented by series of murals represented in continuous registers on the walls of these public structures and in the private residences at Panjikent.²

¹ Freiman, *Sogdiiskii sbornik*; Henning, "Zum sogdischen Kalendar"; Livshits, *Sovetskaya étnografiya* 1960:5, pp. 76–91.

² See the works of Yakubovskii, Belenitskii and Bussagli.



Fig. 3. Sogdian mural from the south wall of the principal hall of temple II, at Panjikent.

While the foundation of Panjikent antedates the 5th century, stratigraphic evidence and the inventory of the buildings indicate a date of 6th to 8th century for the majority of the structures at this site. The Sogdian cursive script of the Mugh documents used as "captions" on some of the Panjikent murals confirms a 7th to 8th century date for such series as the "Rustam cycle" (pls 138-9, 145-8) from the walls of a hall in a private residence at Panjikent (building VI, room 41), now in the Hermitage Museum. A. M. Belenitskii's interpretation of the subject matter of the "Rustam cycle" as a Sogdian version of the Rustam legend is warranted by the existence of a Sogdian fragmentary text on this epic hero¹ and Firdausi's association of this theme with the decoration of a palace at the legendary Tūrānian city of Siyāvush-gird:²

A city famous for its rosaries,
Its lofty palaces, and orchard-grounds.
He limned within the hall full many a picture
Of kings, of battle, and of banqueting,

¹ Henning, "Sogdian tales"; E. Yarshater, "Rustam dar zabān-i Sughdi", *Mīhr* VIII (Tehran, 1952), 406-11.

² Vuller's Persian text II, 625; A. G. and E. Warner, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausi* II (London, 1906), 286.

And painted there Kāūs with mace and armlets,
Crowned on his throne, with elephantine Rustam,
With Zāl, Gūdarz, and all that company.
Elsewhere he limned Afrāsiyāb, his army,
Pīrān, and Garsīwaz the vengeful one.
That pleasant city was the talk of all
Good men both in Īrān and Tūrān.

Excavations at Varakhsha, in the Bukhārā oasis, have yielded remains of a large Sogdian city, ruled by a local dynasty from the 5th to the 8th century. The Varakhsha citadel was built against a fortified wall overlooking the shahristān and comprised several barracks, an extensive palace with vaulted rooms (including the "Red Hall" and the "East Hall") and an open court with a spacious triple arched aivān.¹ The elliptical arches of the aivān were supported on massive round brick columns (diam. 2 m) and a pair of corner piers decorated with stucco carvings.

The geographical proximity of Bukhārā to the trade routes between the Zarafshān and Kashka Daryā basins on the one hand, and the Surkhān Daryā and Āmū Daryā basins on the other, may have contributed to the presence of "Indian" features in the murals found in the royal palace at Varakhsha. The Indian physiognomy and bare torso of the principal hunter represented in the paintings from the "Red Hall", however, are combined with compositional schemes that have the heraldic and hieratic quality of Sasanian art. The rigidity of the compositions in the Varakhsha murals is softened by the sweeping and graceful contours of the leaping animals that express the Sogdian taste for elongated and sinuous forms found in artistic workshops of the 7th and 8th centuries (pls 140-1).

The discovery in 1966 of wall-paintings on the walls of a royal reception hall at the Sogdian capital at Samarqand has added to the study of Sogdian art the new dimension of a sophisticated "court" style associated with the capital city during the 7th and 8th centuries.² Distinguished by brilliant colours and vividly defined details of costume, ornament and physiognomy, the Samarqand murals preserve unexpected documentation in a series of explanatory passages written in Sogdian cursive directly upon the paintings. A flat lapis lazuli blue

¹ See the works of Shishkin and of Pugachenkova and Rempel.

² V. A. Shishkin, *Iskusstvo* 1 (Moscow, 1966), 62-6; Livshits, "Nadpisi na freskakh iz Afrasiaba", pp. 5-7; Frye, "The significance of Greek and Kushan archaeology in the history of Central Asia", *Journal of Asian History* 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 33-44.

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colour provides the background for the variegated jewel-like figures that are skilfully interrelated here by means of gesture, direction of movement and overlapping planes. Interest in the narrative is balanced by a taste for rich and ornamental colours communicating the spirit of excitement and fanfare that accompanied the arrival of a colourful foreign mission at the Sogdian court at the height of its power and splendour (pls 142-4). A desire for the display of pomp and ceremony is also manifested in actual remains of Sogdian silk weaves, metalwork and ceramics such as the cups of the 6th to 8th century that are distinguished by their sharply curved and metallic contours, undulating rims and glistening glaze specked with golden particles and stamped designs.¹

¹ Henning and D. G. Shepherd, "Zandaniji identified?"; A. M. Bentovich, *Trudy Tadzhikskaya arkeologicheskaya ekspeditsiya* IV (1964), 264-98; Marshak, *Sogdiškie serebro*.



Proportional Guidelines in Ancient near Eastern Art

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PROPORTIONAL GUIDELINES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART*

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STUDIES on the history of proportions in art have generally avoided treatment of the canon of proportions in the art of the ancient Near East. This omission, which resulted from insufficient knowledge of the subject, is no longer justified. Recent studies on metrology in Near Eastern architecture and the identification of brick dimensions with Babylonian units of measure have now expanded knowledge about prevailing standards of proportions in Mesopotamian architecture through the Neo-Babylonian period.¹ This paper seeks to explore the ramifications of these studies for the identification of the canon of proportions in Near Eastern art, with special reference to the monumental art of Achaemenid Susa, especially that which can be dated to the reign of Darius I (521–486 B.C.).

I

Achaemenid monumental sculpture in the round is best exemplified by the colossal statue of Darius I, uncovered in 1972 at Susa, by the French Archaeological Delegation in Iran (fig. 1).² Carved from Egyptian grey granite, the statue is presumed to have been one of a pair of identical portal figures which were erected against the west façade of the main gate that gave access to the royal complex at Susa.³ Fragments of

* This article was presented in abbreviated form at the XXXI Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Leningrad in July 1984 and has benefited from insights and information gained from informal discussions with Marvin Powell, as well as Anne D. Kilmer, Wolfgang Heimpel, and David Stronach, my colleagues at the University of California, Berkeley. Included as appendixes are brief studies on other aspects of bricks in Mesopotamia by W. G. Lambert, "The Sumero-Babylonian Brick-god Kulla"; A. D. Kilmer, "The Brick of Birth"; and W. J. Heimpel, "Gudea's Fated Brick" (see pp. 203 ff., below). I am also indebted to Jane Becker for the preparation of the drawings used here in figs. 3, 5, and 12–14.

¹ M. A. Powell, "Metrological Notes on the Esagila Tablet and Related Matters," *ZA* 72 (1982): 106–32. For a complete bibliography on earlier research on Near Eastern metrology, see idem, "Sumerian Numeration and Metrology" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1971); J. Friberg, *A Survey of Publications on Sumero-Akkadian*

Mathematics, Metrology and Related Matters (1854–1982), Research Report, Department of Mathematics, the University of Göteborg, Chalmers University of Technology (Göteborg, 1982).

² D. Stronach, "Description and Comment," *JA* 260 (1972): 241–51; idem, "La Statue de Darius le Grand découverte à Suse," *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 61–72; H. Luschey, "Archäologische Bemerkungen zu der Darius-Statue von Susa," *Akten des VII internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München, September 1976* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 207–17.

³ J. Yoyotte, "Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques: Darius et l'Égypte," *JA* 260 (1972): 263; J. Perrot and D. Ladiray, "La Porte de Darius à Suse," *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 43–56; F. Vallat, "Les Textes cunéiformes de la statue de Darius," *ibid.*, pp. 164 f.; Luschey, "Archäologische Bemerkungen zu der Darius-Statue von Susa," *Akten*, p. 216; M. C. Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, Acta Iranica, vol. 9 (Leiden, 1979), pp. 68–71. While Perrot, Ladiray, and Yoyotte believed the Darius statue to be a replica of the original intended for the Atum Temple at Heliopolis, Vallat considers it to be the original, which was presumably brought to Susa by Xerxes after his punitive campaign in Egypt following Darius's death. The Susa statue and fragments of possibly four other similar



FIG. 1.—Stone statue of Darius I, from Susa, dated to around 490 B.C., Archaeological Museum, Tehran. Photo courtesy Elizabeth Carter.

perhaps three other statues of Darius, with somewhat larger dimensions and different attributes, are also known from Susa.⁴ The quadrilingual inscription on the statue indicates that the monument, which was carved in Egypt perhaps for the Atum Temple, at Heliopolis, was commissioned by Darius I and erected in accordance with

statues from Susa, now in the Louvre, are all attributed to a single Egyptian workshop by H. Luschey; see "Die Darius-Statuen aus Susa und ihr Rekonstruktion," in H. Koch and D. N. Mackenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, AMI, Ergänzungsband 10 (Berlin, 1983), pp. 191–206, fig. 7.

⁴ Luschey rejects Perrot and Ladiray's reconstruction of the winged bull portal figures proposed for the east façade of the Gate at Susa; see *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 49–50. Instead, he tentatively reconstructs the east façade of the Gate at Susa with a pair of Darius statues used as portal figures; see "Die Darius-Statuen," p. 204, postscript.

his own specifications.⁵ Darius's inscription states that the statue was created so that "he who saw it in the future would know that the Persian man had conquered Egypt."⁶ Indeed, despite its Egyptian pose and format, the statue illustrates Darius's view of himself as a world ruler and Persian master of Egypt, directly, through its iconography and dress, and, indirectly, through its proportions.⁷

A comparison of the Darius statue with other examples of Achaemenid sculpture reveals a striking resemblance between the anatomical proportions of the Darius statue and those of the seated king in the central panels of the North and East stairways of the Apadana at Persepolis (fig. 2).⁸ If the seated image of the king in the panels from the Apadana were shown in a standing position, its height would approximate that of the Susa statue, which originally measured some 2.70 m without its base and about 3.20 m with it.⁹ Apart from their nearly human scale, these colossal images resemble each other in their anatomical proportions.¹⁰ The relationship of the various parts of the body, such as palm to forearm and forearm to overall height and breadth, are standardized here and expressed according to a common system of proportions. This artistic canon is also found in the standing figure of the king, depicted on the face of the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostam, which has served as a model for my reconstruction of the missing head and shoulders of the Darius statue (fig. 3).¹¹ The 9:1 ratio of the height of the head (hairline to jawline) to the body height found here seems to have prevailed in the other two images as well.¹² Similar formal traits evidently characterize Achaemenid sculpture from the early years of Darius's reign, as shown by the proportions of the king's figure in the Behistun relief, which one may safely assume to have been completed in 520–519 B.C.¹³ Despite its relatively shorter stature, the royal figure in the Behistun relief (1.72 m in height) displays the ratio of palm to forearm found in the Darius statue, dated to around 490 B.C.¹⁴

⁵ Yoyotte, *JA* 260 (1972): 253–66; idem, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 181; Vallat, *JA* 260 (1972): 247–51; idem, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 161–70.

⁶ Idem, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 161 f.

⁷ For discussion of the dress and iconography of the Darius statue, see Stronach, *JA* 260 (1972): 241–51; idem, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 61–72; M. Roaf, "The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius," *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 73–159.

⁸ E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, OIP 68 (Chicago, 1953), pls. 121–22; A. B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, vol. 1, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 16 (Rome, 1972), pp. 75–98; Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 88 f.

⁹ Luschey, "Archäologische Bemerkungen zu der Darius-Statue von Susa," *Akten*, p. 208, fig. 5; idem, "Die Darius-Statuen aus Susa," in Koch and MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte*, p. 198.

¹⁰ E. Porada has commented on the forceful impression made on the viewer by these images which, because of the nearly human scale, are more impressive than gigantic figures, which would appear remote by virtue of their unreal scale; see "Some

Thoughts on the Audience Reliefs of Persepolis," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, New York, 1979), p. 39.

¹¹ E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 3, *The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, OIP 70 (Chicago, 1970), pp. 116–18, pl. 19; Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 72 f.

¹² The similarities between these figures extends, of course, to features of dress, iconography, and content, which are not treated in this paper.

¹³ Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 45; 58, n. 38; 60; 185. Because of its elevated location, the proportions of the figures in photographs of the relief are generally distorted; see Luschey, "Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisutun," *AMI* 1 (1968): 67 f.; idem, "Die Darius-Statuen aus Susa," in Koch and MacKenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte*, p. 209. A comparative study of the proportions of the human figure in Achaemenid art is to appear in a doctoral dissertation by J. Davis-Kimball currently in progress at the University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁴ For the date of the Darius statue, see Stronach, *JA* 260 (1972): 243 f.; Vallat, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 59–60.



FIG. 2.—Stone relief showing seated king. Detail from the central panel of the N stairway of the Apadana, at Persepolis, Archaeological Museum, Tehran. Photo from M. Mazahéri, *Les Trésors de l'Iran* (Geneva, 1977), p. 78.

That the Achaemenid canon of proportions was subject to change under certain conditions is indicated by the differing heights of figures of servants from the stairway of the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis and by the variable proportions of nobles of equal rank from the northeast stairway of the Central Building at Persepolis (fig. 4).¹⁵ The blatant disregard for the use of a consistent system of proportions displayed in

¹⁵ For the reliefs from the palace of Xerxes at Persepolis, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, pls. 163–65; for those from the Central Building at Persepolis,

ibid., pls. 72–73; see also reliefs from the Eastern stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis, *ibid.*, pl. 49.

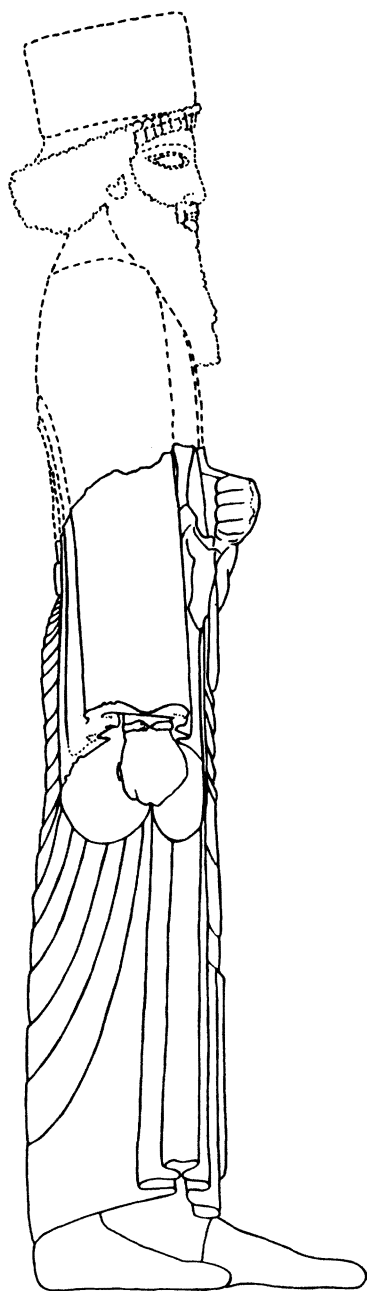


FIG. 3.—Drawing of the statue of Darius I from Susa with head and shoulders restored. Drawn by Jane Becker, Lowie Museum of Anthropology.

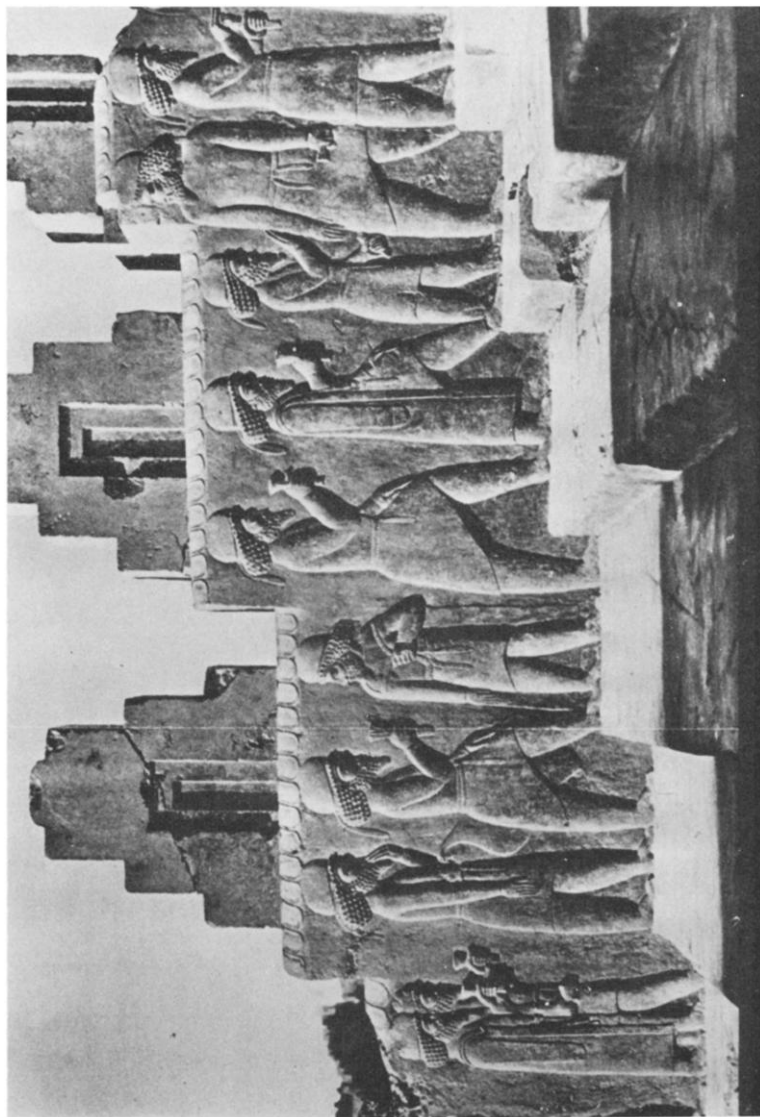


FIG. 4.—Stone relief showing file of nobles from the northeast stairway of the Central Building, at Persepolis. Photo from R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964), fig. 209.

these reliefs is explained by spatial limitations imposed by the architectural setting of the reliefs. The disproportion between gigantic and diminutive figures, necessitated by the variable height of the wall, clearly demonstrates the subordination of Achaemenid sculpture to its architectural setting.

Abrupt changes in the format and scale of figures within a single procession is also found in the medium of glazed-brick wall decoration of Achaemenid structures from Susa. Thus the scale and direction of figures in the Susian Archer frieze are determined by projections and angles along wall surfaces; figures in a single procession may suddenly shift direction to face a doorway, or the scale of one or more figures within a frieze may be reduced to accommodate a wall recess.¹⁶ The Achaemenid brick mason, moreover, readily trimmed and cut the decorated bricks for use as building blocks. Such tailoring of glazed bricks to architectural requirements, which provoked M. Dieulafoy's comment that "les Perses ne connaissaient pas l'onglet. Ils coupaient brutalement les bordures sans les préoccuper de raccorder les dessins," in fact distinguishes Achaemenid brick panels from the carefully fitted glazed bricks of Neo-Babylonian date.¹⁷

II

The dependence of form on function, of art on its architectural context, is expressed with greater subtlety in Achaemenid sculpture in the round, best exemplified by the statue of Darius from Susa (figs. 1 and 3). The survivor of the pair that flanked the main Gate at Susa, this statue was originally anchored against the Gate wall, facing the paved inner court. The monolithic statue, which is estimated to have measured a little over 3 m in height prior to the fracture and loss of its head and shoulders, rests on a rectangular base measuring 51 cm in height.¹⁸ The height of the base corresponds exactly to the absolute dimensions of the cubit-size standard brick used to pave the floor of the passage along the west façade of the same Gate.¹⁹

The overall height of the three-meter statue, is expressed here in six multiples of the height of the base and the length of the Persepolitan cubit, and it is repeated in the dimensions of bricks which were laid in six rows of nine at the foot of the statue. The cubit-size standard bricks used on the floor of this passage evidently date from a period when the floor was repaved after the erection of the statue.²⁰ But the correspondence between the cubit-size module used for the proportions of the statue and

¹⁶ M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1884, 1885, 1886 sous les auspices du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1893), pp. 253 f.; R. de Mecquenem, L. Breton, and M. Rutten, *Mission de Susiane, Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* 30 (Paris, 1947), p. 52 (hereafter *MAI*); E. Haerinck, "Le Palais achéménide de Babylone," *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973): 126.

¹⁷ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, p. 283; R. Koldewey, *Das Ishtar-Tor in Babylon*, WVD OG 32 (1918; Osnabrück, 1970), pl. 10; Haerinck, "Le Palais achéménide de Babylone," *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973): 126.

¹⁸ Stronach, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 61; Roaf gives the measurements of the base of the statue as 1.043 × 0.64 × 0.51 m; *ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁹ Perrot and Ladiray, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 48 f.

²⁰ The Achaemenid standard bricks of cubit and four-palm formats from Susa are similar to Babylonian standard bricks of twenty-four fingers and sixteen fingers, which measure about 49 × 49 cm and 33 × 33 cm, respectively; see Powell, *ZA* 72 (1982): 110 f. Like Babylonian standard bricks, Achaemenid standard bricks evidently served as units of measure in constructions at Susa; see Perrot

the dimensions of the Achaemenid standard pavement brick would seem to indicate, nevertheless, the adoption of an abstract architectural unit for the definition of proportions in the statue of Darius. Although made in an Egyptian workshop, the Susa statue of Darius was evidently proportioned according to specifications dictated by its Persian patron. Although the Egyptian reformed cubit had dimensions that were comparable to the Neo-Babylonian and Persian cubits, the Egyptian canon of proportions in art relied on metrological guidelines which were expressed through the use of square grids.²¹ In Egyptian art of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, or Saite period (662–525 B.C.), the human figure is divided into twenty-one squares, with a 4:1 ratio of forearm, or cubit, to body height.²² If we plot the Darius statue in the Egyptian grid of the Saite period, where the human foot is registered as four squares, we find notable differences between its proportions and those of the Egyptian image of comparable dimensions (fig. 5).²³ The relatively longer legs and torso, which distinguish the Darius statue, clearly record what must have been the prevailing Persian rather than Egyptian canon. The esoteric values which inspired the rigid and cultic art of Egypt are replaced in the Darius statue by the worldly concerns of the Persian patron, expressed explicitly in the iconography and implicitly in the proportions of the statue. These proportions thus reflect the use of an architectural module based on standard brick dimensions rather than on a unit of measure with immediate anatomical significance.

The use of brick dimensions as a module for the definition of proportions, suggested here for the statue of Darius, is more plainly seen in the figured decoration of Achaemenid glazed bricks that were used as both structural and decorative components of walls. The flat or relief decoration of Achaemenid glazed bricks recovered from Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon was applied to the exposed sides of the brick,

and Ladiray, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 4 (1974): 44, 48. On Achaemenid metrology, see F. Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen* (Berlin, 1971), pp. 29–31; A. Hesse, "Métrologie statistique d'éléments architecturaux des palais achéménides de Suse," *Cahiers de la DAFI* 2 (1972): 219–41; K. G. Siegler, "Bemerkungen zu Persepolis," *Kunst des Orients* 10 (1975): 26 f. These sources are now superseded by M. Roaf, "Persepolitan Metrology," *Iran* 16 (1978): 67–78; idem, "Sculpture and Sculptors at Persepolis," *Iran* 21 (1983): 97–102.

²¹ The unit of measure frequently used in brick constructions of pre-Persian date in Egypt was the royal cubit of twenty-eight digits or 52.4 cm. But most Egyptian bricks were not made to any standard size and fell within a general range of dimensions that varied with time. Only the cubit-bricks of the Old Kingdom were apparently made to a fixed size (52–53 × 26 cm). Although bricks from other periods of Egyptian history vary in their dimensions, the common dimensions of bricks used in the domestic architecture of ancient Egypt is 30 × 15 cm = 4 × 2 palms; see A. J. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), pp. 149 f. I wish to thank Cathleen Keller for this reference.

²² E. Iversen, "The Canonic Tradition," in J. R. Harris, ed. *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford, 1971), p. 67; idem, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art* (Warminster, 1975), pp. 17, 79, pls. 22–24. For a critical review of Iversen's study, see E. Lorenzen, "Review Article: Canon and 'Thumb' in Egyptian Art," *JAOS* 97 (1977): 531–39. For other studies of the Egyptian canon and the use in Egyptian art of grids different from those discussed by Iversen, see R. Hanke, "Beiträge zum Kanonproblem," *ZÄS* 84 (1959): 113–19; G. Robins, "The Length of the Forearm in Canon and Metrology," *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 59 (1982): 61–75; *ibid.* 68 (1983): 85–91; *ibid.* 72 (1984): 21–23, 27–31; M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, vol. 7 (Vienna, 1982), pp. 295 f. I wish again to thank Cathleen Keller for the references to discussions of the Egyptian grid.

²³ The fist, which may also be used to plot the Darius statue in the Egyptian grid, corresponds to 1½ palms = four fingers and thumb and, has the value of 1½ sidelengths of the square in the Egyptian grid; see Iversen, *Canon and Proportions*, pp. 15; 30; 32, n. 4; 75 f.; 87, n. 2.

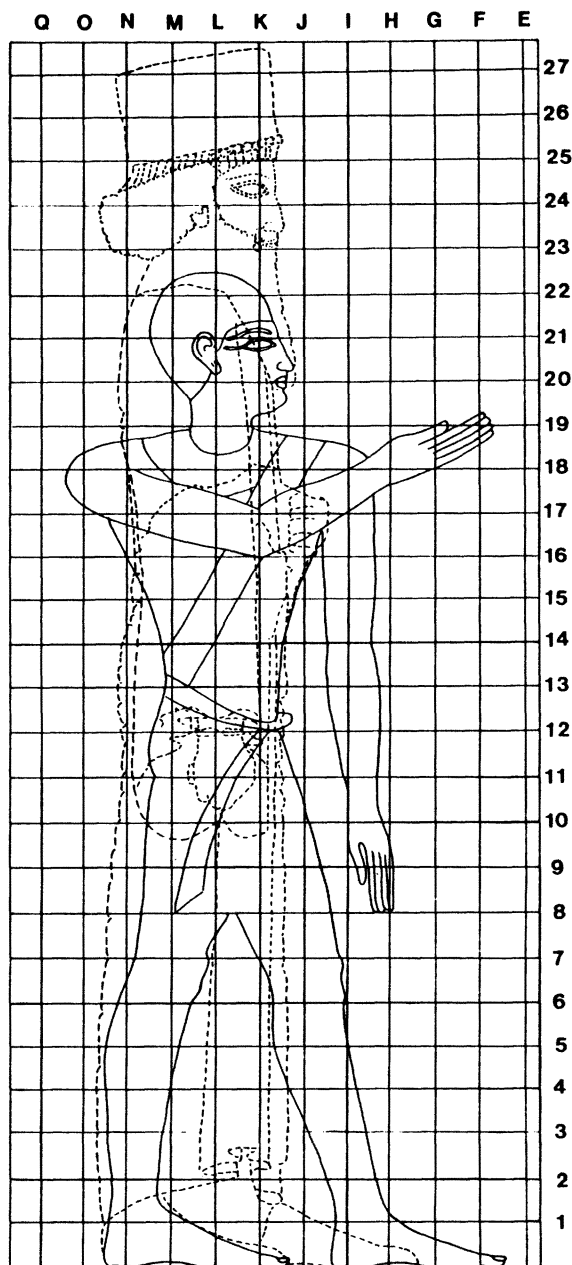


FIG. 5.—Drawing of the statue of Darius I, with head and shoulders restored, plotted in the Egyptian grid of the Saite period. Based on Iversen, *Canon and Proportions*, pl. 23. Drawn by Jane Becker, Lowie Museum of Anthropology.

which usually corresponded to the brick thickness, or height, in wall bricks, and to the brick face in floor or ceiling tiles.²⁴ Achaemenid glazed bricks were either square or rectangular half-bricks. Some were also slightly wedge-shaped, a format that served to produce a tight joint on the exposed side of the brick. Square wall bricks generally measure 33–35 × 33–35 × 8–9 cm, or four Persepolitan palms to a side and one Persepolitan palm in thickness.²⁵

The best-preserved figured glazed bricks of Achaemenid date are panels decorated with the Archer frieze from Susa, now in the Louvre, depicting a procession of standardized figures of armed guards. First identified by Dieulafoy with members of the Ten Thousand Immortals, known from Herodotus's account of Achaemenid royal guards, the body of picked Persian troops (7.86 f.), the Archers are now more specifically identified with Susian guards and recognized by their twisted head-band, a feature exclusive to Elamites on labeled Achaemenid reliefs.²⁶ Like the Susian guards that head the procession of courtiers on the stone reliefs from the Apadana façade at Persepolis, each archer in the glazed brick version from Susa is dressed in an ankle-length flowing garment and carries a spear with the circular butt on the toe, an uncased bow over the left arm, and a quiver over the shoulder (figs. 6–8). Thus despite differences in colors and ornamentation, the Susian guards in all versions of the Archer frieze display identical gestures and postures.²⁷ They are shown facing right or left, framed by ornamental borders and sometimes by inscriptions, and executed in flat colors or in relief. In the reconstructed version in the Louvre, the standard figure is four-fifths natural size, or about 1.46 cm in height, and is represented by seventeen brick thicknesses (each measuring about 8.5 cm) that define the figure from the crown to the soles of the feet. But if, as in the Darius statue, the head is measured from hairline to chin (defined in the Archer frieze in the Louvre by 1⅓ brick thicknesses), then a ratio of 9:1 is also obtained here for head to body height (fig. 6).²⁸

²⁴ On Achaemenid glazed bricks from Susa, see Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, p. 280; J. de Morgan, in J. de Morgan et al., *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. 1, *Recherches archéologiques: Fouilles à Suse en 1897–1898 et 1898–1899* (Paris, 1900), pp. 98 f.; G. Jéquier, *ibid.*, pp. 78 f.; de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 48, 56, 64, 79; *idem*, in A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, vol. 1 (New York, 1938), pp. 323 f.; J. Perrot et al., "Recherches archéologiques à Suse et en Susiane en 1969 et en 1970," *Syria* 48 (1971): 48; J. V. Canby, "A Note on Some Susa Bricks," *AMI* 12 (1979): 315–20. For Achaemenid glazed bricks from Babylon, see R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (London, 1914), p. 129, fig. 64; *idem*, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, WDOG 54 (1931), pp. 120 f., pl. 39; F. Wetzel, "Der Perserbau im Westen der Südburg," *ibid.*, pp. 122 f.; E. Haerinck, "Les Palais achéménides de Babylon," *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973): 118–27. For Achaemenid glazed bricks from Persepolis, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, pp. 71, 78, 91.

²⁵ Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, vol. 1, pp. 120 f.; de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 47 f.; cf. Roaf's reference to the Persepolitan foot

measure of four palms, for which there is no clear evidence; see "Persepolitan Metrology," *Iran* 16 (1978): 78.

²⁶ Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, pp. 280–94, 315, figs. 151–56, 158–60, 162, pls. 5–7; de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 47 f. This corps was known as the Immortals reportedly because its number was kept constant through recruitment from Elam, Media, and Persis; see A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 238 f. For an example of the Archer frieze from Babylon, see Koldewey, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, vol. 1, pp. 122 f., pl. 39; Porada, *Ancient Iran* (London, 1962), pp. 145 f.; Haerinck, *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973): 123; Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 233 f. On the designation of the élite corps as "the immortals," see R. N. Frye, "Achaemenid Echoes in Sasanian Times," in Koch and Mackenzie, eds., *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte*, pp. 247 f.

²⁷ On compositions with human figures other than the procession of guards preserved on Achaemenian glazed bricks, see Canby, *AMI* 12 (1979): 315–20.

²⁸ Measured from crown to base of beard, the head in the Archer frieze depicted on the panels in

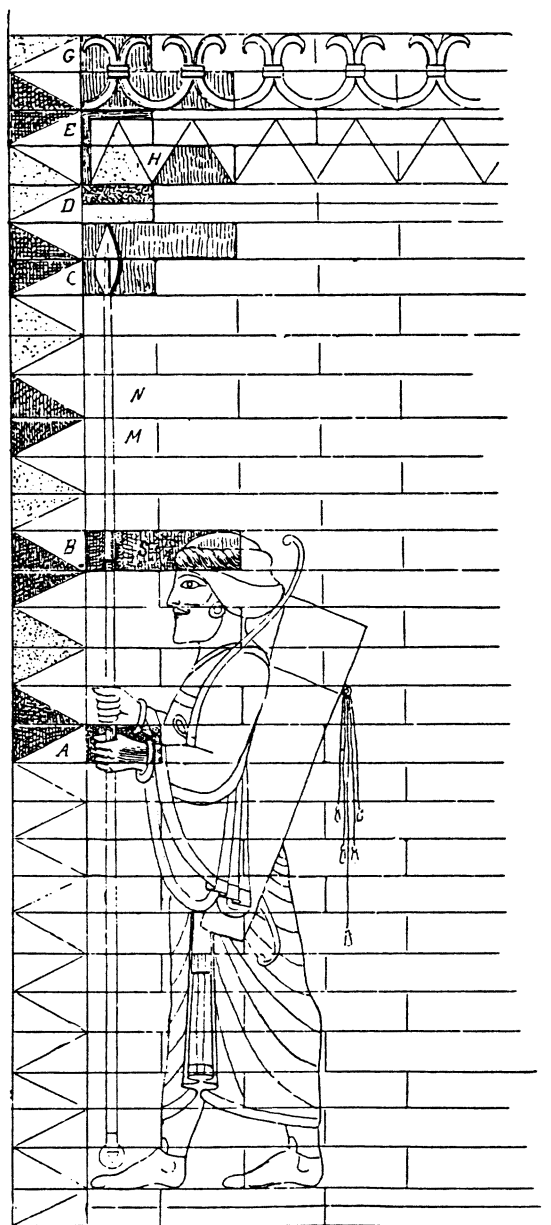


FIG. 6.—Molded and glazed-brick panel showing a Susian guard from the Archer frieze from Susa, in the Louvre. Reconstructed drawing from Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, fig. 154.

In these panels, the length of the face from the hairline to the root of the nose (figs. 7, 9) is equal to a fist of five fingers, which fits exactly the space provided by the height of the standard brick (fig. 8). Since the standard brick height in this panel has the metrological value of one Persepolitan palm of four fingers (about 8–9 cm), the correspondence between brick height and the fist of five fingers indicates the convenient reduction of the image by one finger (about 2.2 cm) from its metrological equivalent. Similarly, the forearm, which in Persepolitan metrology is presumed to have had the value of a cubit of twenty-four fingers (about 51–52 cm), is reduced in the same panel to fit the dimensions of the brick of sixteen Persepolitan fingers (about 33 cm). The reductions of the cubital forearm and the first of five fingers for accommodation of the four-palm and one-palm formats of the standard brick may be viewed as yet further instances of the subordination of anatomical proportions in art to architectural priorities and hence to metrological values. Moreover, the height of the entire composition (determined by the height of the spear-shaft without the variable tip of the blade) is twenty-four brick thicknesses, the height of the body (hairline to base of feet) is sixteen brick thicknesses, the breadth of the body (front of forward ankle to back of posterior leg) measures one brick length = four brick thicknesses.²⁹ The linear measures used in the representation of proportions in the composition of the Archer frieze are thus in a ratio of 6:4:1, which corresponds to that of the relative values of the Persepolitan cubit, four palms (“foot”) and one palm. The same ratios evidently prevail in labeled plans of Achaemenid structures at Persepolis.³⁰ In Achaemenid architecture, as in the composition of the Archer frieze from Susa, the relationship of the parts to the whole is determined, therefore, by ratios that are based on the prevailing system of linear measure.

The reduction of the scale of figures in later versions of the Archer frieze was a phenomenon that may be explained by a parallel development in Achaemenid glazed brick panels from Susa that depict a procession of lions.³¹ The Lion frieze is represented by an earlier version, datable to the reign of Darius I, and a later series from

the Louvre is one-seventh of the body height, or about 22 cm, as observed by de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 47 f. However, because the height of the headdress and beard length are subject to considerable variation, the head is generally measured from crown to chin and the face from crown to mouth; see E. Panofsky, “The History of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles,” *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York, 1955), pp. 55–107 and passim.

²⁹ The representations of the fist and forearm on these bricks display the same rate of their reduction from their respective metrological equivalents. Like the fist of five fingers, which in this panel is assigned the metrological value of a palm of four fingers, the representation of the forearm is six fingers (about 13.2 cm) shorter than its metrological equivalent in the Persepolitan system of linear measure. Moreover, if the Persepolitan cubital forearm is measured from elbow to the tip of the medius, then its pictorial equivalent in the Archer frieze would have

to be lengthened by one brick thickness. These additions to the length of the forearm in the Archer frieze would increase its dimensions, giving the same ratio of palm to forearm that is found in their metrological equivalents; see n. 20, above. Like the headdress above the hairline, the variable blade of the spear above the socket is not computed in these measurements.

³⁰ Roaf, “Persepolitan Metrology,” *Iran* 16 (1978): 78.

³¹ The smaller dimensions of late Achaemenid bricks do not explain the extent of reduction notable in the scale of figures in some of the later versions of the Archer frieze; see Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, fig. 64 (with incorrect caption). For the dimensions of late Achaemenid bricks, see Perrot et al., *Syria* 48 (1971): 39 f.; Hesse, *Cahiers de la DAFI* 2 (1972): 227 f.; R. Bouchariat and A. Labrousse, “Le Palais d’Artaxerxès II sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse,” *Cahiers de la DAFI* 10 (1979): 62.

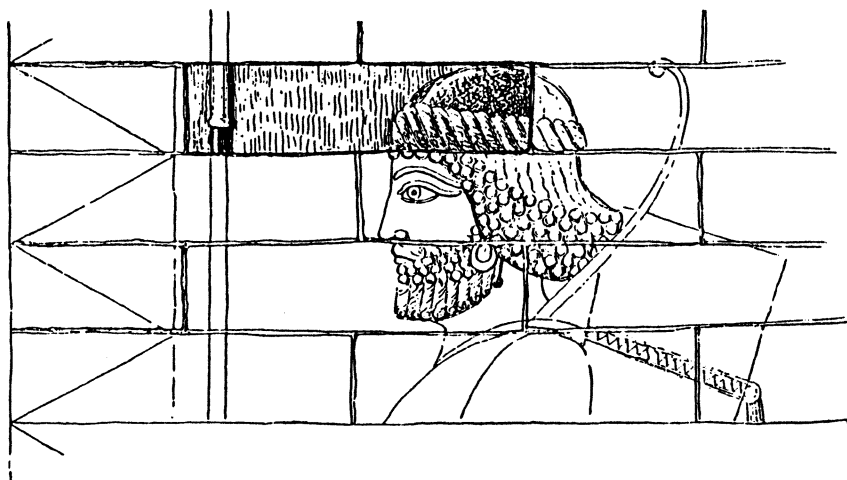


FIG. 7.—Detail of molded and glazed-brick panel from the Archer frieze from Susa, in the Louvre. Reconstructed drawing from Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, fig. 156.



FIG. 8.—Detail of molded and glazed-brick panel showing a Susian guard from the Archer frieze from Susa, in the Louvre. After Porada, *Ancient Iran*, pl. 42.

the reign of Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) (fig. 9–10).³² Although the height and length of the lion in both versions are identical (about 1.25×2 m), in the older version the lion's height is defined by almost fourteen brick thicknesses, whereas only half that

³² Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, pp. 274–80; idem, *Les Antiquités de Suse découvertes et rapportées par la Mission Dieulafoy* (Paris, 1913),

pp. 11 f.; de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 54 f., figs. 30–31.

number define it in the later version where bricks of double thickness are used.³³ The use of bricks of double thickness in the later version, as suggested by R. de Mecquenem, was designed to facilitate construction of the relief by reducing the number of horizontal joints (fig. 10).³⁴ Brick joints which served as a "grid" for the definition of proportions in the earlier version of the Lion frieze from Susa (fig. 9) were thus gradually deprived of their importance as proportional indicators. Once anatomical proportions were fixed, standardized figures with the proportions of the earliest examples could be repeated in different dimensions or transferred to another medium without direct reference to the original brick module.

Similarly, the various versions of the Archer frieze from Susa and Babylon may be assigned to an earlier and a later type.³⁵ Whereas the earlier type is represented by panels that manifest a correspondence between anatomical proportions and brick dimensions (figs. 6–8), the later type may be identified with versions that lack such correspondence. The reduced scale and formulaic figures which appear without reference to the "grid" pattern of the brick joints are thus later versions based on nearly life-size originals characterized by a correspondence between face length and brick height. Although the Archer frieze panels from the vicinity of the Apadana appear to date from a period when repairs and additions were made to earlier Achaemenid structures at that site, they evidently reproduce the scale and format of the earliest panels datable to the reign of Darius I.³⁶

III

A search for the origins of the Achaemenid system of proportions in art must take into account information offered in Achaemenid texts about the nationalities of the work force engaged in the construction of the palace of Darius I at Susa. According to the foundation charter of Darius's palace (DSF), its foundations were laid by Babylonians, who also molded and baked the bricks used in its construction.³⁷ Babylonians evidently performed the same tasks in Darius's later constructions at Susa, as indicated in foundation tablets uncovered there in 1970 (DSz).³⁸ Darius's earlier foundation charter had contained an incomplete and ambiguous reference to the role of Ionians in the decoration of his palace, which is clarified by the information offered by the complete texts of the tablets uncovered more recently at Susa.³⁹ Here it is stated that "the elements of decoration with which the terrace was decorated" were imported from Ionia.⁴⁰ The "elements of decoration" of the palace could refer to any

³³ The lion's length is measured from nose to tail, its height from crown to base of paws; see de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 54 f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³⁵ See n. 24, above.

³⁶ *Ibid.* and Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*, vol. 3, pp. 284 f. For a review of the finds at Susa, see Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, p. 32. On the date of the late Achaemenid reconstructions at Susa, see Perrot et al., *Syria* 48 (1971): 43.

³⁷ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 142–44, II3k; W. Hinz, "The Elamite Version of the Record of Darius's Palace at Susa," *JNES* 9 (1950): 1–7; Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius I^{er},"

Studia Iranica 1 (1972): 9, ll. 22–26, 46.

³⁸ Perrot et al., *Syria* 48 (1971): 49.

³⁹ Vallat, *Studia Iranica* 1 (1972): 11: DSf, ll. 36–37. The incomplete passage in DSf was taken to mean that (1) Ionians worked on the decoration of the palace; (2) Ionian residents of Babylon baked the bricks; and (3) the decoration of the glazed bricks was imported from Ionia; see de Mecquenem, in *MAI* 30 (1947): 99; J. P. Guepin, "On the Position of Greek Artists under Achaemenid Rule," *Persica* 1 (1964): 34; Haerinck, *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973): 119, n. 51.

⁴⁰ Vallat, *Studia Iranica* 1 (1972): 10 f., DSz: ll. 38–40.

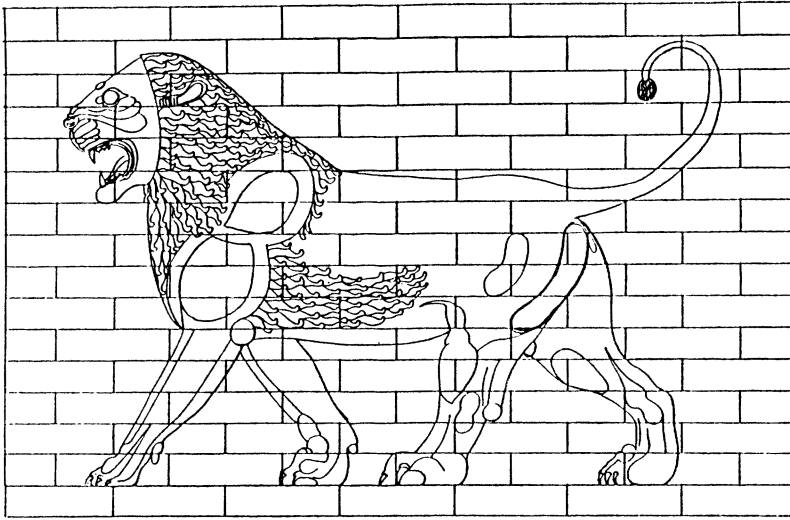


FIG. 9.—Detail of molded and glazed-brick panel showing a lion from the Lion frieze of the earlier type from Susa, in the Louvre. Drawing from R. de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): fig. 31.

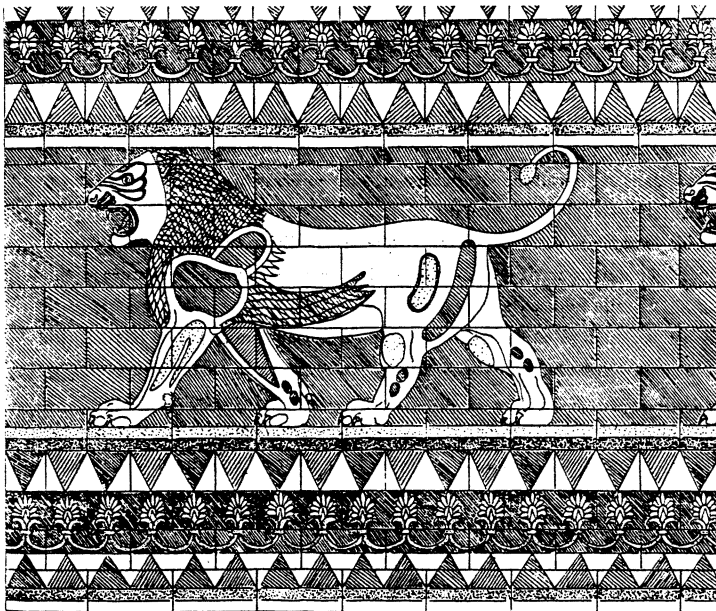


FIG. 10.—Detail of molded and glazed-brick panel showing a lion of the later type from the Achaemenid complex at Susa, in the Louvre. Drawing from R. de Mecquenem, in *MAI* 30 (1947): fig. 30.

number of fixtures, such as stone slabs for reliefs. Furthermore, because Babylonians are explicitly credited here with the manufacture of molded and baked bricks, it is reasonable to identify the foreign labor force that contributed to the production of Achaemenid glazed bricks with the Babylonians, rather than with Ionians, who were distinguished as stone-cutters there.⁴¹ Moreover, there is little in the form and iconography of the figures on Achaemenid brick panels to suggest a predilection for Greek art on the part of their creators. The proportions of the figures, as observed by J. P. Guepin, are "un-Greek: the legs of men and animals are too short, like the upper arms of men; there is no narrowing in the waist, no wrist, the hands are too small."⁴²

The leading role played by Babylonians in the manufacture of bricks for Achaemenid palaces at Susa may well explain the long-noted similarities between the artistic formulas used in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid glazed brick panels.⁴³ But the Babylonian labor force at Susa was doubtless reinforced by native workmen, who are ignored in the lists given in the foundation charters, presumably because of the propagandistic nature of these texts.⁴⁴ The native contribution to the Achaemenid brick industry is, in fact, seen in the technology of the bricks from Susa. Apart from some glazed terra-cotta bricks of Neo-Babylonian type, the bulk of the bricks utilized in Achaemenid glazed brick panels was a glazed siliceous faience, frequently described as "frit." This lighter, more porous, and durable brick, which is not found in Neo-Babylonian structures, has a composition that is identical to that of Elamite bricks utilized in both Middle and Late Elamite structures.⁴⁵ Despite considerable innovation in the range of colors of the glaze, and in the method of its application to the decoration, Achaemenid frit bricks evidently continued the methods and materials of manufacture found in the older Elamite glazed brick industry.

The bilineal descent of Achaemenid glazed bricks from the traditions of Elam and Mesopotamia is further attested in their common use of the brick module as a proportional guideline in art. As in the Achaemenid glazed-brick panels from Susa, the height of the human face is defined by one brick thickness on Middle Elamite molded bricks (fig. 11).⁴⁶ The face length, however, is defined differently in frontal and profile heads. Whereas the brick thickness corresponds to the area between the hairline and mouth in profile heads, it defines the entire face (hairline to chin) in frontal heads. The entire frontal head is conveniently reduced to one brick thickness in the images of the bull-man and goddess depicted on the molded brick façade of the Susian Inshushinak temple of the twelfth century B.C. (fig. 12).⁴⁷ Here the Elamite brick artist was following Babylonian precedent, represented by the molded brick

⁴¹ See n. 37, above.

⁴² Guepin, "Greek Artists," p. 42. On the Ionian presence in the labor force at Persepolis, see Root, *King and Kingship*, pp. 7 f.

⁴³ Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, p. 32; de Mecquenem, *MAI* 30 (1947): 65 f.

⁴⁴ Root, *King and Kingship*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Glazed frit bricks in both Elamite and Achaemenid structures are coated with a vitrified lead-base glaze, or "enamel," which is distinguished from true enamel which has a tin base; see P. Amiet, "Disjecta membra aelamica," *Arts asiatiques* 32

(1976): 14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14, figs. 18, 22. Middle Elamite molded bricks used in the panels reconstructed by Amiet measure 10–11 cm in thickness. The same standard is found in other Middle Elamite molded bricks from the Inshushinak temple at Susa and in the Kassite molded brick panels from the Innin temple at Uruk; see nn. 47–48, below.

⁴⁷ P. Amiet, *Elam* (Auvers-sur-Oise, 1966), p. 396, fig. 299, now in the Louvre. The panel measures 1.37 m in height.

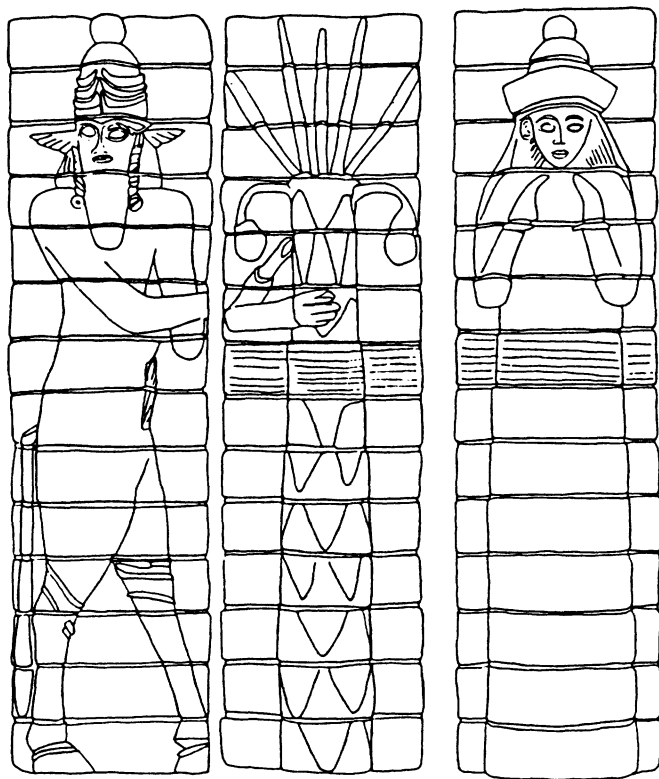


FIG. 11.—Middle Elamite molded and glazed-brick panel from Susa, in the Louvre. Reconstructed drawing from Amiet, *Arts asiatiques* 32 (1976): fig. 22.

panels from the Kassite temple of Innin, built at Uruk by Karaindash about 1415 B.C. (fig. 13).⁴⁸ If the reduced size of heads in the divine imagery on the Innin and Inshushinak temple façades had been dictated by the dimensions of the prevailing standard brick, the elongated bodies of the same gods echoed the vertical rhythm of the niched temple façade. However, a 9:1 ratio of head to body height is found in other Kassite and Middle Elamite imagery from different architectural contexts.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Each figure measures about 1.65 m in height, and the height of the entire panel is 2.05 m; see E. Strommenger, *Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), pl. 170; W. Orthmann, *Babylonisch-assyrische Rundplastik* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 4) (Berlin, 1975), p. 295, fig. 169. The Middle Elamite molded brick panels from the Inshushinak temple also follow the unusual brick-bond, represented by courses of vertically aligned stretchers found on the façade of the Kassite temple of Innin at Uruk.

⁴⁹ The ratio of head to body height is 14:1 brick

thicknesses in figures from the Kassite temple façade and 12:1 brick thicknesses in figures from the Middle Elamite Inshushinak temple. The 9:1 ratio of face to body height in other Middle Elamite imagery (see Amiet, *Arts asiatiques* 33 [1976]: figs. 3, 12, 22) is comparable to that of secular figures in Kassite art, as shown in Y. Tomabechi's revised drawing of the figure in the mural from Doorway IV in the palace at Dur Kurigalzu; see "Wall Paintings from Dur Kurigalzu," *JNES* 42 (1983): 129 f., figs. 2–3.

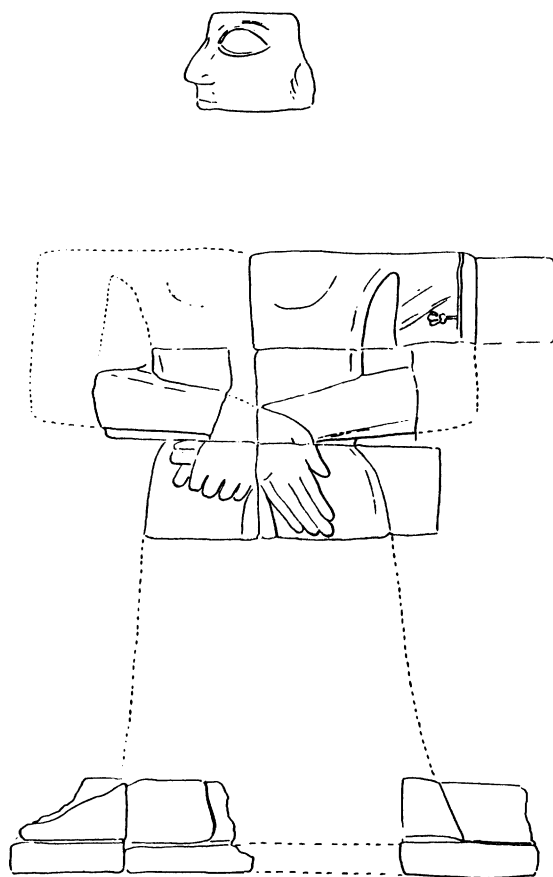


FIG. 12.—Middle Elamite molded brick panel from the façade of the temple of Inshushinak at Susa, now in the Louvre. Drawn by Jane Becker, after Orthmann, in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 4 (1975): fig. 169.

The Mesopotamian forerunners of Achaemenid figured brick panels, of which the oldest known example is the façade of the Kassite temple of Innin, are more immediately documented in brick compositions of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian date. Of special relevance for this study are passing remarks made by R. Koldewey in his pioneering study of Neo-Babylonian bricks. Commenting on the similarity between the pattern of joints of Neo-Babylonian glazed bricks and the Egyptian grid system, Koldewey admitted the possibility of a connection between brick joints and the regulation of proportions.⁵⁰ But there was insufficient evidence at the time to link the architectural module, represented by brick dimensions, with the Mesopotamian system of proportions in art. If the style and iconography of Neo-Babylonian representations

⁵⁰ Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*, pp. 26–29; idem., *Das Ishtar-Tor in Babylon*, pp. 23–24.

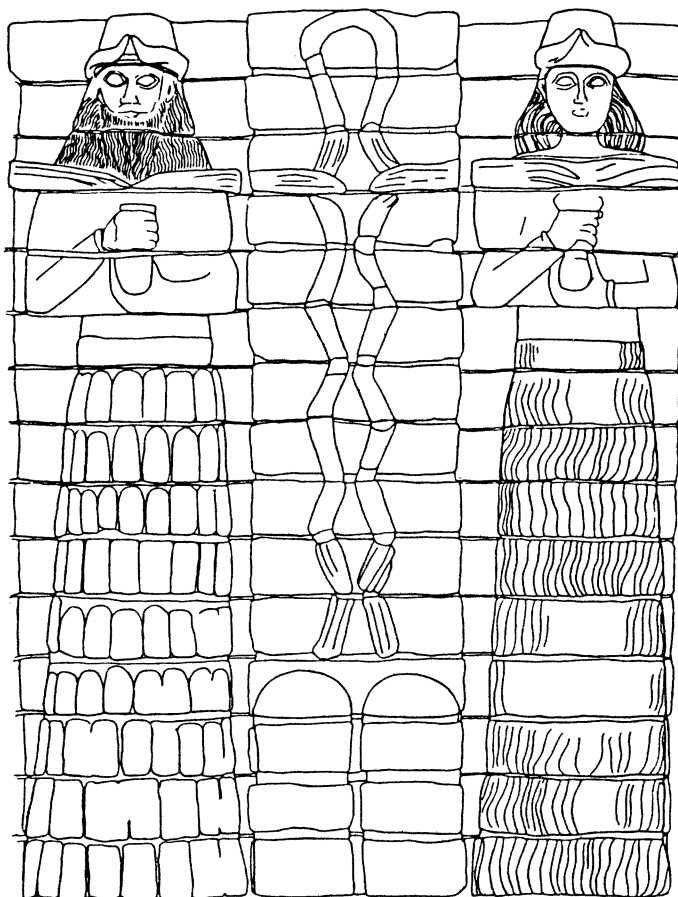


FIG. 13.—Kassite molded brick panel from the façade of the temple of Innin at Uruk, built by Karaindash around 1415 B.C., now in the Berlin Museum. Drawn by Jane Becker, after Seton-Williams, *Les Trésors de Babylone*, pl. 99.

of animals on glazed bricks from the throne room and the Processional Way in Babylon provided the models for animal processions on Achaemenid glazed brick panels, it was Neo-Assyrian art that inspired the proportions of the human figure in the Achaemenid Archer frieze.⁵¹ The royal image depicted on the glazed-brick panel from Nimrud, dated to the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), shows not only the ubiquitous 9:1 ratio of head to body height, but also ratios of face and palm to forearm and of breadth to body height that are similar, if not identical, to those of the Susian guards from the Archer frieze (figs. 6 and 14).

⁵¹ Idem, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, vol. 1, pp. 84 f., fig. 4, pl. 38; W. Orthmann, *Neuassyrische und spätbabylonische Flachbildkunst*, Propyläen

Kunstgeschichte, vol. 14 (Berlin, 1975), pp. 316 f., pl. 19; M. V. Seton-Williams, *Le Trésor de Babylone* (Paris, 1981), p. 149.

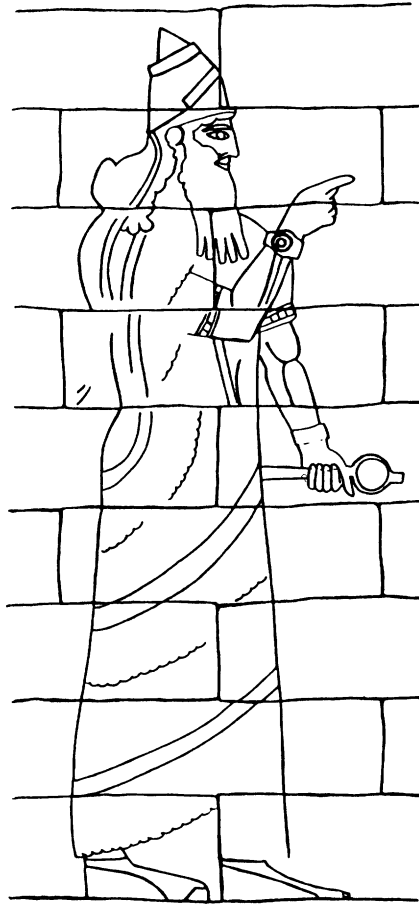


FIG. 14.—Detail of Neo-Assyrian glazed-brick panel from Nimrud, reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), in the Iraq Museum. Drawn by Jane Becker, after Seton-Williams, *Les Trésors de Babylone*, p. 106.

“To everyone who shall see this palace which was built by me, may it seem excellent,” was Darius’s message upon completion of his palace and its decoration at Susa.⁵² To earn such universal approval, Darius adopted the age-old strategy of fusing symbols of traditional authority with expressions of topical interest in the decoration of his palace. Thus the files of Susian guards that meticulously record the reality of the situation through the use of contemporary dress, equipment, posture, and context, were expressed according to the conventions and canon of the prestigious art of the ancient Near East.

⁵² Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, p. 144:DSj.

IV

In summary, I wish to stress the following points. Recent studies on the connection between standard brick dimensions and Babylonian metrology have offered valuable information about the canon of proportions in the art of the ancient Near East. Because the monumental art of Achaemenid Susa is subordinated to brick architecture, that particular art is used here to test the validity of the architectural module for the definition of proportions in Achaemenid architectural sculpture. The examples used are Achaemenid glazed brick reliefs from Susa, represented principally by the Archer frieze (now in the Louvre) and by the colossal portal statue of Darius I in stone (in the Tehran Museum), which despite its Egyptian origin, resembles Persepolitan sculpture in its dress and proportions. The use in these works of art of a module with an absolute size corresponding to the prevailing brick dimensions thus suggests reliance on an architectural unit of measure. As in the architecture of Persepolis, the linear measure used to define proportions in the Archer frieze is expressed in the 6:4:1 ratio, which corresponds with those of the Persepolitan cubit of twenty-four fingers, four palms of sixteen fingers, and one palm of four fingers (see n. 25 above).

Finally, the Achaemenid use of the standard brick as a metrological guideline in art indicates a far earlier date than previously supposed for the use of a relatively large abstract module in the treatment of proportions in art. The Byzantine module, identified with the "face-length," for which E. Panofsky had in fact sought an "Eastern" origin, now finds an early forerunner in the "brick length" used in a similar fashion in Achaemenid art.⁵³ That the Achaemenid canon of proportions, like Old Persian metrology and brick dimensions, was itself heir to an even earlier Mesopotamian tradition is a likely assumption that finds both archaeological and textual support.⁵⁴

⁵³ Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, pp. 74 f. For the Byzantine face length and its subdivision into "nose lengths," see Godehard Schäfer, trans. *Malerhandbuch des Malermönchs Dionysios vom*

Berge Athos (1855; Munich, 1960), pp. 34–35, sec. 52.

⁵⁴ See appendixes to this paper by W. G. Lambert, W. J. Heimpel, and A. D. Kilmer, below.

APPENDIX A

THE SUMERO-BABYLONIAN BRICK-GOD KULLA

Since Sumer-Babylonian civilization developed on an alluvial plain remote from sources of building stone and timber, clay bricks were necessarily the normal material used for more solid structures. It was held that all aspects of human life (including the material environment) had been ordained in the beginning by the gods, so building with bricks was so considered, and the god Kulla was thought to be involved. There is no evidence that those who professionally made and laid bricks worshiped him. Indeed, we have no knowledge of any shrines of his at which worship was made, but when in building operations the first brick of a house or temple was laid, at least in the second and first millennia B.C., according to a ritual series which is partly

preserved¹ incense was burned and beer was libated to him. Prayers were also addressed to him at the appropriate moments asking for blessings on the building.

The earliest mention of Kulla occurs in the Sumerian myth "Enki and the World Order," where Enki appoints Kulla in the beginning to have responsibility for making bricks, but their laying and the accompanying rites here belong to another god, Mušda(mma).² The date of composition of this myth cannot be settled finally, but the surviving copies push it back to at least the beginning of the second millennium B.C. From about one century earlier, Cylinder A xviii-xix of Gudea, ruler of the city Lagash,³ describes in minute detail how this ruler made and put in place the first brick of the rebuilt temple of the god Ningirsu, but while Enki is said to have decreed the destiny of this brick, neither Kulla nor Mušda is mentioned. Their absence from third-millennium cuneiform texts generally is noteworthy. Enki/Ea is involved because craftsmen gods generally were conceived either as aspects of his personality or as minor gods in his divine court. Thus a Sumerian incantation in a late copy makes Kulla son of Enki,⁴ and a Babylonian incantation addressed to the very ceremonial "first brick" states: "Ea in the Apsû nipped off clay, he created Kulla to renew [you]."⁵ In the partly surviving ritual series "Kulla" and in the practice of first-millennium kings of both Babylon and Assyria up to Nabonidus, Kulla had taken over many of the duties ascribed to Mušda in "Enki and the World Order," namely, the laying of bricks from the first to the last. However, when the house was completed, Kulla (presumably his image) was removed from the building, put in a boat, and allowed to drift away down the river.⁶

A cultic calendar compiled in Babylonia, probably during the third quarter of the second millennium B.C., states that the month Simānu (May-June), being the month when bricks are made and houses built, is the month "of Kulla of the land."⁷ This goes back to the name of this month as "Placing-the-brick-in-the-brick-mould" used in Nippur in the mid-third millennium.⁸ Sargon II of Assyria made the bricks for his new capital in the month Simānu, with appropriate offerings to Kulla and Mušda, but the laying of the bricks did not take place until the second following month, Abu.⁹ In southern Mesopotamia, May-June would have been a likely time to make bricks and build with them, since it marked an interval in agricultural work, and clay in the clay pits would have been moist.¹⁰

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¹ The Title "Kulla: la[ying] the foundation of a house" is given as the first in the list of series KAR 44 obv. 2; see H. Zimmern, "Zu den 'Keilschrift-texten' aus Assur religiösen Inhalts," *ZA* 30 (1915): 204 ff.; and for edited sections of the series, idem, "Ein babylonisches Ritual für eine Hausweihe," *ZA* 23 (1909): 369 ff. See also R. Borger, *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae* . . . (Böhl Festschrift) (Leiden, 1973), pp. 50-55.

² For translations of this section, see A. Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte," *ZA* 56 (1964): 109, ll. 333 ff.; and S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), p. 181.

³ See the translations of Falkenstein in Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1953), pp. 155 f.

⁴ T. J. Meek, "Some Explanatory Lists and Grammatical Texts," *RA* 17 (1920): 132, K 4147 10.

⁵ F. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, WVDOG 4 (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 32-35; and A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2d ed. (Chicago, 1951), pp. 65-66.

⁶ Zimmern, *ZA* 23 (1909): 374 f.

⁷ See the edition with translation by E. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonische Astronomie* (Leipzig, 1915), vol. 1, pp. 85 ff.

⁸ See *RIA*, vol. 5, p. 300.

⁹ D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1927), vol. 2, p. 64 f.

¹⁰ See further, R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven, Conn., 1968), pp. 18-20; and also *RIA*, vol. 5, p. 300.

APPENDIX B

GUDEA'S FATED BRICK

Generally speaking, construction of houses is accompanied by ceremonies marking the beginning, end, and various other stages of work. Officials dig the first spadeful of earth on the construction site and lay the foundation stones. German carpenters affix a young tree to the roofbeam before the roof is put on and have drinks supplied by the builder. Arabs in Nablus practice the "slaughter of the house" and let the blood of a sacrificial animal flow in the ground on which the house is to be built.¹ When the door of a Persian house is put in, "the butcher must dip his hand in the blood of a sacrificed animal and lay it on the door."²

The ruler in Mesopotamia, when building for the gods, manufactured the first brick himself, sprinkled the foundations with precious materials, laid the foundation box, mixed some of the mortar, and led the celebrations of dedication. The best sources for these ceremonies are the building inscriptions of Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings and the cylinders of Gudea. The latter contain the most detailed information which is couched in poetic language and presents us with many difficulties of interpretation.

In connection with G. Azarpay's interest in the role of the brick in ancient Near Eastern art, I have attempted a new interpretation of Gudea's account of his manufacture of what he calls the "fated brick" of the temple House Fifty, which he rebuilt.

Text

In the prologue, in heaven Ningirsu speaks about his house and expresses his confidence that his "wide-eared" governor "will make the fated brick raise (its) head" to him (Cyl. A I 15). Gudea learns about it in a dream which he relates to Nanshe, the "seer of the gods." The following is one of the details:

In front of me stood a pure basket.
A pure brick mold had been fitted.
A fated brick was there for me in the brick mold (V 5-7).

As might be anticipated, Nanshe's interpretation is:

The pure basket standing in front of you,
the pure brick mold which had been fitted,
the fated brick which was there in the brick mold,
that was in fact the right brick of House Fifty (VI 6-8).

The meaning of the dream as a whole is a communication of Ningirsu's desire for a new temple. Nanshe adds to her interpretation the advice of presenting Ningirsu with a gift of a chariot complete with the appropriate weapons, a standard, and a harp. Gudea does so and is rewarded with a second dream in which Ningirsu reveals himself to the prospective builder of his house, promising him abundance of water and prosperity in return for having built his house. Upon awakening, Gudea has the good news confirmed by an omen and prepares his citizens for the coming construction by removing all possible grounds for disagreement among them. Then follows the omen of the brick:

¹ G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Gütersloh, 1938), vol. 7, p. 90.

² H. Massé, *Persian Beliefs and Customs* (New Haven, Conn., 1954), p. 363.

It is a cow of Nanna gleaming in its byre.
 He places the brick. He . . . in/on/at the house.
 He sets down the outline of the house (XVIII 10–XIX 20).

Comments on Some Key Terms

(1) Fated brick.

sig₄-nam-tar-ra is not a genitive phrase because of a line from the “Drinking Song”:³ sig₄-nam-tar-ra a dé-zu “Your pouring water on the fated brick.” nam-tar-ra is then the nominal form LAL-a and hence translated “fated brick.” The brick is fated by the divine action reported in the omen of the brick.

(2) Brick mold and box of the brick mold.

A. Salonen wanted to see in ù-šub an early-middle Chalcolithic word of the form üthüb. One should actually derive it from the base šub which is used for the falling of the brick out of the brick mold (XIX 3). In the month names of Umma and Nippur, the word is spelled ^{giš}i-šub, suggesting a frozen verbal form used as noun. The pronunciation may have been ušub as suggested by ù-šub. ì-šub would then be the morphemic, ù-šub the phonetic spelling. ^{giš}šub in Statue E III 1 and 9 is probably not an error for ^{giš}ù-šub but a different form of the base, a *nomen agentis*, with the same meaning as ì/ù-šub: “caster.”

The equation é-^{giš}ù-šub = *nalbanu* in Nabnitu, where the Sumerian is probably derived from GÁ-^{giš}ù-šub-ba in Proto Izi, indicates the distribution:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{GÁ-}^{\text{giš}}\text{ù-šub-ba} &= \textit{nalbanu} \\ ^{\text{giš}}\text{ù-šub} &= \textit{nalbattu}. \end{aligned}$$

The difference between *nalbanu* and *nalbattu* is, however, not clear. The use of the words in the Gudea inscriptions suggests that the former is that which determines the form of the brick, that is in particular the inner sidings of the brick mold, whereas the latter is the whole brick mold understood as actual implement. The “drawing” of the GÁ-^{giš}ù-šub-ba (Cyl. A XIII 20; Statue C II 20 f.) refers to the form of the resulting brick as the omen of the brick clearly implies. On the other hand, the ù-šub is “put down” (Statue B III 133); Gudea “steps up to” it (Cyl. XVIII 23) and “shakes it” to let the brick fall out (Cyl. A XIX 3). The meanings of the two terms are very close and overlap: the brick is lifted from the GÁ-ù-šub-ba (XIX 13), and the loam is placed into the ù-šub (XVIII 24).

(3) Loam pit.

The translation “brick stamp” for KA.AL was suggested (“wir glauben, es liegt nahe, anzunehmen . . .”) by M. Witzel.⁴ Gudea in fact stamped inscriptions on some of the bricks.⁵ E. de Sarzec⁶ shows the impression of the Anzu eagle en face on a brick, a fact which seems to corroborate the translation of KA.AL in light of the wording of Cyl. A XIII 21–22. Not all bricks were stamped, and we do not know whether stamping followed certain principles. The new interpretation of KA.AL given below means that first bricks were not stamped.

The word KA.AL occurs also in DP 604 as Deimel, *ŠL* 15,207, noted. The text contains the report of a field measurement. The sides and acreages are given. In some cases, a remark about the adjacent land is added. Next to one small side of each of the two subdivisions is a threshing floor (ki-su₇). Next to one of a number of small, probably irregularly shaped, plots on the small

³ M. Civil in *Studies Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1963), p. 70, l. 64.

⁴ M. Witzel, *Keilinschriftliche Studien*, vol. 3 (Fulda, 1922), p. 43.

⁵ See, for example, C. B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions* (London, 1981), pp. 19 ff.

⁶ E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris 1894–1912), pl. 31 bis, no. 1.

Reconstruction of the Usar-Tiraš-Du'a Field according to DP 604

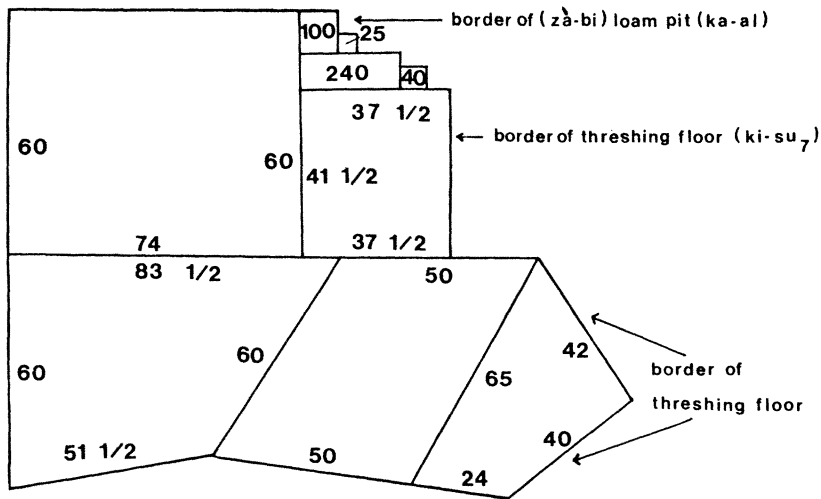


FIG. 1.—Numbers next to sides refer to length (1 = ca. 12 feet). Numbers in the centers of segments refer to surface (1 = ca. 375 sq. feet).

end of the upper subdivision is a KA.AL (see fig. 1). It must signify a land use which is not compatible with growing crops.

According to Statue C II 22, KA.AL is a genitive construction. ka-al(a) should be identical with Akkadian *kalakku* and mean literally "mouth/opening of the hoe," i.e., excavation. I suspect that the Akkadian word in Atram-hasis I 40 designates a loam pit where the working gods were engaged in the tedious work of excavating and treading loam, a scenario well suited to the start of a rebellion.

(4) Pole.

In *AHw. urinnu* is defined as "eine Standarte" and *urigallu* is translated as "Standarte," das "Hütte mit Standarte." Since *urigallu* means "big *urinnu*," the latter, *urinnu*, must be the more general term. According to lexical texts, the *urinnu* was made of wood or reed. The few references with contexts do not reveal its function. The *urigallu* was made of reed. It could be carried, planted in the ground, and depicted on walls. Often many, typically seven, *urigallu* were used together. They were so arranged that one could sit "within/among them," a fact which makes the translation "Hütte mit Standarte" unnecessary. Used in such manner, they are "probably to be understood as an enclosure technique, sealing off the ritual site from the everyday and mundane world, so as to make it suitable for cultic action."⁷

The sign *urī* depicts a pole with a loop attached to it at the top. The rather frequent pictorial representations were analyzed by E. Heinrich,⁸ under the term *Bügelschaft*. He demonstrates that there existed two types. There was a wooden pole with a loop whose shafts were probably mounted with copper. Pairs of such poles flank entrances, and their loops are not parallel to wall and door as the representations suggest but stand away at 90-degree angles.⁹ Originally they

⁷ R. Caplice, "Namburi Texts in the British Museum," *Or.*, n.s. 36 (1967): 30.

⁸ E. Heinrich, *Bauwerke in der altsumerischen*

Bildkunst (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 37 f.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 50.

held a cross-bar from which a screen was hung. The shaft of the other type is identical with that of the so-called ring bundle (the Inanna sign) and the Ringträger (a shaft made of a reed bundle with usually three pairs of loops attached to it near the top).

References from Sumerian literary texts confirm the identification of *urì* with the looped poles flanking entrances. Typically, the word is connected with the verb *mul* "to glisten." This may be seen in light of Heinrich's observation that the looped poles are coated with metal. *urì* is written once with the determinative *giš* (Gudea, Statue E III 4), never with *gi*. In Enmerkar 133 ("may the poles glisten for me by its doorjambs") and Lugalbanda-Hurum 442 (TCL I 6 pl. 160 13: "the glistening poles from the Abzu were planted for them. The door of the land Šuba . . .") The poles are usually connected with entrances and are also found on "the place of the planted pole(s)," *ki-uri-rú-a(k)*.¹⁰ S. Cohen correctly stresses the apotropaic nature of the poles.¹¹ It derives of course from their original function as part of a frame for screens.

The passage Gudea, Cyl. A XIII 20–23 expresses a relationship between box of the brick mold, loam pit, and pole. In Statue C, E, and F, this same relationship is put in simpler terms: "The box of the brick mold was drawn. The pole glistened above the loam pit" (C II 20 ff. = E III 1 ff. = F II 12 ff.).

In Cyl. A XIII 23, *urì* stands in the terminative which is not clear to me. I would guess that it somehow refers to the fastening of the Anzu standard to the pole.

(5) Adab.

A. Falkenstein read this line *ensì-ra-a urudušim á-lá mu-na-tuk-àm*.¹² The plene spelling is inexplicable; the determinative *urudu* for *si-im* unique (cf. Cyl. A XXVIII 18; B XV 20). I propose instead the reading: *ensì-ra a-da-ab₄ si-im*. . . . The same grouping is found in Temple Hymns 107: *šubun-zu a-da-ab unu-gal-zu kuššēm kušá-lá*. *a-da-ab* is a well-known subscript to texts which Falkenstein determined as being hymns to deities which often mention the name of a king.¹³

The context of Gudea Cyl. A XVIII provides the first example for an occasion on which an *a-da-ab* was performed. Šulgi G, an *a-da-ab* of Enlil, contains a reference to a fated brick (CT 36, 26:12).¹⁴ The text may turn out to be an example for an *a-da-ab* performed at the ceremony of the fated brick.

(6) Agarín.

I still do not quite understand this term.¹⁵ Falkenstein tried to explain it by reference to the German "Mutterboden," in view of the related passage in "Enki and the World Order" (see below). If, in fact, *agarinnu* designates beer mash (so *CAD* s.v.), this would be the second example of *agarinnu* as a watery mixture serving in a preliminary stage in a manufacturing process. Civil¹⁶ and M. Lambert¹⁷ suggest the reading *imduš-ri-na*, which they connect with *tinūru* "oven." Civil points out, however, that Gudea would hardly have used a kitchen implement for baking bricks. The translation "oven" is, moreover, hardly applicable in l. 10.

¹⁰ See Enlil Hymn 45, text RR in D. Reisman, *Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns* (Ann Arbor [University Microfilms], 1970); also *PBS* I/1, 8 I 14.

¹¹ S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Ann Arbor [University Microfilms], 1973), pp. 196 ff.

¹² A. Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas von Lagaš*, AnOr 28 (Rome, 1978), p. 106. Å. Sjöberg reads *unú-gal-zu kù šēm*. . . . The sign which he reads *kù* is preserved only in text H and may well be *kuš*.

¹³ Idem, "Sumerische religiöse Texte. 1. Drei 'Hymnen' auf Urnínurta von Isín," *ZA* 49 (1949):

101. A late lexical text suggests that *a-da-ab* was also an instrument (see *CAD* s.v. *adapu* A 1). C. Wilke mentions a passage from Šulgi E which may confirm this (AS 20, 256 f.).

¹⁴ See also S. N. Kramer, "CT XXXVI: Corrigenda and Addenda," *Iraq* 36 (1974): 93 ff.

¹⁵ See my article "The Nanshe Hymn," *JCS* 33 (1981): 82, l. 10.

¹⁶ Civil, "Notes on Sumerian Lexicography, II," *JCS* 25 (1973): 173.

¹⁷ M. Lambert in "Notes brèves," *RA* 63 (1969): 96 (no. 10).

Sequence of Events

I. Preparation

- (a) Omen of the brick: (the choice of) the box of the brick mold and (the location of) the loam pit is confirmed by (inspection of the entrails of a sacrificial) kid (XIII 16–19).
- (b) A pole with the image of the Anzu (is erected to guard over) the box of the brick mold and the loam pit (XIII 20–23).

II. Manufacture of the fated brick

- (a) Gudea carries basket and brick mold to the loam pit. He is accompanied by Lugalkurdub, Igalima, and Ningišzida (XVIII 10–16).
- (b) ? XVIII 17.
- (c) An a-da-ab hymn to Ningirsu is performed on behalf of Gudea (XVIII 18).
- (d) The loam is mixed with honey, ghee, oil, and resins (XVIII 19–22).
- (e) Gudea (puts the mixture into) a basket, brings it to the brick mold, and places the mixture into it (XVIII 23–24).
- (f) (Representatives of) foreign lands sprinkle oil and cedar; the Lagashites . . . (XVIII 25–XIX 2).
- (g) (Gudea) takes out the brick from the brick mold and puts it up to dry (XIX 3–5).
- (h) (Gudea) applies resin to the surface of the brick (XIX 6–7).
- (i) Utu (dries it) (XIX 8–9).
- (j) Enki . . . the agarin with water (XIX 10–11).
- (k) ? XIX 12.
- (l) (Gudea) displays the brick among the people (XIX 13–18).
- (m) (Gudea) emplaces the brick (XIX 19).

Problem in the Sequence of Events

The text describes the manufacture of the brick in natural chronological order. Only the mention of lifting the brick from the box of the brick mold in XIX 13 presents a problem. In XIX 3 the brick's removal from the mold is mentioned. It is hardly imaginable that it was put back into it, something which could only have been reported in the now damaged section of l. 12. It is also unlikely that GĀ-ù-šub-ba is not what we think it is and designates instead something on which the brick was put out to dry. I have no explanation for this.

A Comment on the Meaning of II (i) and (j)

The participation of Utu and Enki in the manufacture of the brick is probably connected with Utu's power to dry and Enki's power to wet. Enki wets the loam, and Utu dries the brick. The image contained in the expression "his mighty-river-like rising agarin" (XIX 10) refers probably to the rising of ground water in the loam pit at the time of the flood. Note that the month when one "places the brick in the brick mold" falls into that season (second month in Ur III Umma; third in Nippur). In "Enki and the World Order" 335, Enki's action on the agarin is expressed in sexual terms. Falkenstein translates:¹⁸ "In den Mutterleib (agarin) steckte er den Penis (so glatt), wie (wenn er) mit guter fürstlicher Butter (eingerieben gewesen wäre)." He understands this as

¹⁸ Falkenstein, "Sumerische religiöse Texte. 5. 'Enki und die Weltordnung'," *ZA* 56 (1964): 83.

drastic image for the penetration of the hoe into the ground. As in the Gudea passage, it may in fact refer to the penetration of water into the loam, providing it with the plasticity necessary for making bricks. If we see in Kulla a representation of the moisture in the loam, we can understand why he is asked to leave and never to return in the ritual for dedicating a house.¹⁹

Where is the Fated Brick Put Down and What Happens to It?

According to XIX 15, the brick was displayed among the people. Subsequently, Gudea “put it down.”²⁰ The second sentence in the line in which that is stated (XIX 19) is not entirely understandable but seems to belong to the following.²¹ What is clear is that the laying of bricks does not follow immediately. The mass production of bricks is mentioned in XX 17 f.: “The mother of Lagash, pure Gatumdu, gave birth to its (the temple’s) bricks in a tide.” In XX 26 the laying of foundations is reported. The fated brick is not mentioned here or elsewhere. Only the ritual of removing the walls of a temple from Seleucid Uruk gives a clue: the builder “carries an axe of lead and removes (*idekke*) the *libittu mahrūtu*” (*RAcc* 9,15). The latter is identical with the fated brick of Sumerian tradition.²² The “axe of lead” indicates that the first brick had to be loosened and thus was part of the masonry wall. Ellis’s question of how the first brick was recognized might be answered by assuming that the brick was actually the first to be laid and that there existed a convention about the exact spot where a first brick was laid down.

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APPENDIX C

THE BRICK OF BIRTH

Clay as basic primal matter and the forming of malleable clay into bricks and other forms had fundamental and significant places in the ancient Mesopotamian conceptualization of birth-giving and of the matrix from which life, especially human life, derives.

In the mythology as expressed in the Akkadian Atrahasis Epic, the Mother Goddess placed a brick (*libittu*) between the seven left-side and seven right-side pieces of clay mixed with divine flesh that were then moulded by the “divine wombs” (*šasurrātu*) into seven pairs of males and

¹⁹ See Appendix A by W. G. Lambert, pp. 203–4, above.

²⁰ The same phrase occurs in l. 3 of the Nippur Lament (SLTN 102,3 = SLFN 14, 3N-T 919, 484, 3).

²¹ é-a mu-DU.DU. Falkenstein translates “(Da) fertigte (Gudea) Ziegel an, brachte sie zum Haus.” But *gar* does not mean “to manufacture,” and the passage clearly deals with only one, the fated, brick. Cf. the similar construction *gù-dé-a giš-a mu-DU.DU* in Cyl. A VII 15. The latter designates an action which comes after lumber was taken out of the store and before it was used for the manufacture of a chariot. It may mean: “Gudea stood (and) stood

(here and there) among (the pieces of) lumber (which were displayed there).” Similarly, the phrase é-a mu-gub-gub: “he stood (and) stood (here and there) on (the spot where) the house (was to be built).” In this case, the phrase designates an action which is preliminary to the setting of the outline of the house (on the ground), which is reported in the following line. A. D. Kilmer suggests “pacing off” or “walking through” for mu-DU.DU, the common preliminary activity of builders and carpenters to the actual line-laying or cutting.

²² R. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New Haven, Conn., 1968), pp. 26 ff.

females.¹ The "brick" was also prescribed to be present at the subsequent first incidence of the birth of a human baby born of one of the first females of modeled full-sized humans, and was to stay in place for nine (var. seven) days to "honor" the birth-goddess.² This brick has generally been understood simply as a birth-stool, i.e., that a squatting-place for the parturient woman was intended, even though a single brick would hardly suffice.³ The fact that this same brick in Atrahasis was to be present at the first creation of divine matter and was to remain in place for seven or nine days indicates, however, that the brick had a symbolic significance that went beyond its possible function as an aid to delivery.

Aside from the fact that the Pure Brick of Birth (sig₄-tu-tu-kù) was assigned by the creator-god Enki to the birth-goddess Nintu as the sign of her office (nam-en-na-ni) in the Sumerian myth "Enki and the World Order,"⁴ I believe that we have overlooked a deeper meaning and significance of the unbaked clay brick, in that it appears to have been likened to placental material. That is, the fetus may have been thought of as the product that developed in and from the malleable, clay-like placenta.

In the Akkadian omen series concerning anomalous births,⁵ the aborted placental material that is observed proceeds from unformed masses to developed human fetuses in Tablet I. The unformed material is compared to a great variety of things, depending upon the shape of development and abnormality of the fetus. We may note in particular the "clay" in l. 45 or the "brick" of ll. 33 f.—obviously not hard-baked and rectangular, but rather an unbaked, freely formed ("plano-convex" or "shovel-shaped") brick.⁶ In reality, the human afterbirth is a sizeable, dense, and impressive piece of organic material,⁷ which resembles, in fact, "bloody clay"; compare the common traditions that have *red* clay used for creation.⁸

Further ancient Mesopotamian associations between brick and fetus may be seen in the fact that ^dKūbu (deified fetus or premature infant) was the recipient of offerings during the course of production of glazed bricks.⁹ Note also the descriptions of the city-temple Keš, the cult-shrine of the Mother Goddess, in the Abū Šalābīkh Zami Hymns 75:¹⁰ keš sig₄ tu-tu "Keš, brick(-work) (of?) birthgiving," and in the Sumerian Temple Hymns 94:¹¹ é keš^{ki} sig₄-zu tu-tu-zu (var. du₈-du₈-zu), for which see R. Biggs and T. Jacobsen.¹² The existence of wordplay between *libbu* "innards" (also "womb") and *libittu* "brick," and between sig₇-en-sig₇-DU₁₀ "placenta/motherwomb" (unless we are to read sa₇-en-sa₇-DU₁₀), and sig₄ "brick" is highly likely. An extension of the connection between brick/fetal material and clay-pit/womb may be seen in a Sumerian passage from Gudea: "It (the brick, sig₄) looks at the clay-pit (ka-al(a)) of its earth-of-the-womb (im-agarin-na)" (Cyl. A 19:4 f.).¹³

¹ See W. Lambert and A. Millard, eds., *Atra-hasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969), p. 61 (Old Babylonian Version, Tablet I, line 259).

² *Ibid.*, 63 f. (lines 288–94).

³ T. Jacobsen, "Notes on Nintur," *Or.*, n.s. 42 (1973): 291, n. 67, suggests that the brick might have served as a cutting-board on which the midwife cut the birth cord, in addition to being the symbol of Nintur.

⁴ C. Benito, ed., "Enki and Ninmah" and "Enki and the World Order" (Ann Arbor [University Microfilms], 1969), p. 108, lines 395 f.

⁵ E. Leichty, ed., *The Omen Series šumma izbu* TCS, vol. 4 (Locust Valley, New York, 1970).

⁶ Also *šumma izbu* IV 39; "If a woman gives birth to clay (IM) or a brick (SIG₄);" cf. YOS 10, 56:8: "If the anomaly (*izbu*) is like a brick."

⁷ Average = 1¼ lb., 7" in diameter, 1" thick (information from Dr. Aaron Storch, private communication).

⁸ For classical sources, cf., for example, Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 10.4:4, where the remains of the ancient clay from which Prometheus fashioned mankind were said to "smell like the skin of a man."

⁹ See W. Römer "Einige Bemerkungen zum dämonische Gotte 'KUBU(M),'" in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae* . . . (Böhl Festschrift) (Leiden, 1973), pp. 315, 319.

¹⁰ R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*, OIP 99 (Chicago and London, 1974), p. 48.

¹¹ Å. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, eds., *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, TCS, vol. 3 (Locust Valley, New York, 1969), p. 22.

¹² Biggs, "An Archaic Sumerian Version of the Kesh Temple Hymn from Tell Abū Šalābīkh," *ZA* 61 (1971): 195 f.; and Jacobsen, *Or.*, n.s. 42 (1973): 288.

¹³ Reference and translation, W. Heimpel, private communication.

Moreover, parturition customs in modern times in the Near East still include unbaked clay bricks. According to H. Massé, "Au moment de l'accouchement, la femme se met à croupetons [! = croupetons], tournée vers La Mecque, chaque pied posé sur les trois briques superposées. On met sous elle un grand plateau de cuivre contenant un peu de poussière (pour que l'enfant se trouve tout d'abord en contact avec la terre)." ¹⁴ To take another example from Iranian sources, the afterbirth is called *jofit* "the mate," i.e., the "double" of the baby, as though it were the unformed member of a pair of twins of the live birth. ¹⁵ Also, the afterbirth together with the *khist*, the unbaked clay brick, or the "dirt" (clay?) that covered the pan upon which the delivery is made, is kept in the house of the parturient woman for a prescribed number of days and then buried. ¹⁶

Note also the Iranian expression "Az khist to khist," "from brick to brick" (i.e., from the brick onto which one is born to the brick upon which one's head is laid at burial) = "from birth to death," "from womb to tomb."

To give another example of one productive avenue for comparative study, we note further that in Ancient Egyptian mythology, the divine potter Khnum, who fashions babies, "makes firm the birth brick," referring to fetal implantation in the uterus. ¹⁷ In Papyrus Westcar 10, 12, at the moment of delivery, the baby (or only its cut cord?) is placed on the *ifdy m dbt* "pillow of brick," and in Stela Turin 50058 a stricken man sits "on a brick" like a parturient woman. ¹⁸ The Egyptian evidence indicates a distinction between the functions of the actual birth-stool (*mshnt*) and the brick. ¹⁹ In more recent African myths, moreover, human fetal development is also seen to be the divine handiwork of a god-creator who models the clay of life in the mother's uterus to form the baby. The uterus is, by extension, the "oven" in which the clay(-model) is baked (a common folkloric motif; cf. Eng. "she has a bun in the oven"). Note also that when the Sumero-Babylonian creator-god Enki/Ea created the female divine being Šaltu ("Battle") from the dirt of his fingernails, he baked (*epû*) the figure to complete its formation (OB Agušaya Hymn to Ištar A v 26).

While further investigation into delivery practices, ancient and modern, is necessary to prove the point, I believe that the potential evidence is strong enough to suggest that the *idea* of the brick was a highly significant symbol of the construction of life and of civilized existence as well. We conclude that the single, unbaked brick's primary function during actual delivery, as reflected in the mythological Atrahasis passage, was to serve as the pad (a) on which the baby was delivered, (b) on which the cut birth cord was placed and afterbirth delivered, and (c) with which the cord and afterbirth were eventually buried. Thus the midwife, as reflected in the mythological passage as the goddess Nintur in "Enki and the World Order," must have brought along the brick as part of her professional equipment. Moreover, it needs stressing that the importance of "primitive" observation of fetuses and fetal material in mythopoeic thought has been underestimated. ²⁰

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¹⁴ H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes* (Paris, 1938), p. 36.

¹⁵ For this common folkloric theme and its role in sympathetic magic, see, for example, J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1913), vol. 1, pp. 182–201.

¹⁶ Dr. D. Lashgari, private communication.

¹⁷ R. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection," *JNES* 43 (1984): 215.

¹⁸ M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi*

di Deir el Medina (Turin, 1972), pp. 94–96.

¹⁹ References from Cathleen Keller, private communication.

²⁰ See my remarks in E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing, eds., "The Mesopotamian Counterparts of the Biblical Nephilim," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday*, July 28, 1985 (forthcoming).



A Photogrammetric Study of Three Gudea Statues

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A PHOTOGRAMMETRIC STUDY OF THREE GUDEA STATUES*

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This study reveals the use of a consistent system of proportions in three life-size, standing statues in stone, attributed to the latest group of sculptures from the reign of Gudea of Lagash, datable to the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. This system of proportions is evidenced in a six-part division of the overall height of the body, expressed in six multiples of the length of the forearm (elbow to wrist). The correspondence between the division of the height of the image with bends in the body (roughly at the neck, waist, hips, knees and ankles) is suggested by measurement of the Gudea statues against Gudea's cubit of 24 divisions, and generally confirmed by ratios obtained with the aid of photogrammetry. These findings suggest that Gudea's statues were conceived as superimposed blocks in a six-tiered format that is most clearly and consistently expressed in stone sculpture attributed to the latest phase of Gudea's reign. During this period, when large blocks of imported diorite were exceptionally plentiful, the stone was readily cut to conform to the requirements of the prevailing artistic canon. However, earlier in the reign of Gudea, when stone was less plentiful, the sculptor sacrificed canonic proportions to material limitations. The earlier sculptor's reluctance to reduce the precious, uncut stone block to achieve a proportionally smaller image thus results in relatively short and squat statues in which the ideal six-tiered vertical format is reduced by one or two units. That standard proportions prevailed in sculpture from the classical or latest group of Gudea statuary, moreover, testifies to the implementation of artistic norms in the visual arts in an age that also sought to establish standards in other media of cultural expression.

A RECENT STUDY OF THE inscribed statues of Gudea by Horst Steible now offers definitive grounds for determination of the chronological sequence of the statues of Gudea based on formal and textual evidence.¹ The inscribed statues of Gudea, as his study

shows, fall into three distinct chronological groups: early, intermediate and late. The oldest Gudea statues (statues M, N, O), which are linked by textual and formal features with antecedents from Lagash, are represented by images of relatively small dimensions,

* This paper is dedicated to my colleagues Wolfgang Heimpele and Anne D. Kilmer, to whose long-term collaboration, good will, and keen and vivid recollections of facts and fancy about ancient Sumer and modern Sumerology it owes its conception. I am indebted to many colleagues for helpful suggestions and comments, in particular to Michael Roaf for discussions that led to the selection of Gudea statuary as the focus of the project. I am also grateful for relevant information provided by Denise Schmandt-Besserat, George Dales, Marvin Powell and Richard Zettler. I wish to thank David De Vries, of the photogrammetric firm of Hammon, Jensen, Wallen and Associates, Inc., for preparation of photographs at the Louvre and at the British Museum and for calculation of the coordinates obtained through photogrammetry. I thank Pierre Amiet and Antoinette Decaudin, of the Louvre Museum, and Drs. Terrence Mitchell and Christopher Walker, of the British Museum, for their cooperation and assistance rendered toward the realization of the photogrammetric project at the two museums.

¹ Horst Steible's paper, "The Chronological Order of the Statues of Gudea of Lagash from the Point of View of a Sumerologist," is to appear in *JCS*. For a recent typological and statistical study of the Gudea statues, see Gudrun Colbow, *Zur Rundplastik des Gudea von Lagas* (München, 1987), which, because of its recent date, could not be consulted for the purposes of this paper or incorporated in the following bibliographical data. Colbow's book, which appeared in the series *Münchener Vorderasiatische Studien* (Band V), treats questions of authenticity, chronology, material of manufacture, workshop, proportions, style and sequential order. Colbow deserves high commendation for this thorough and comprehensive study. Although our projects were conducted independently of each other and followed different methods of approach, our conclusions on the sequential order of the statues and on their method of manufacture are in agreement. My method of approach differs from that adopted by Colbow in my use of metric photography toward the identification of a hypothetical

carved from heterogeneous stones, and bear dedications to the Sumerian goddess Geshtinanna, whose home was Sagub, in the outskirts of Lagash. The intermediate group (statues P, I, Q) is represented by small-scale statues carved in diorite and dolerite, and with dedication formulae that are connected with those of the earliest group, but now addressed to

standard of six head lengths. Although Colbow also sees a mathematical basis in the proportions of Gudea statues (p. 38, *passim*), she does not arrive at a six-part break-down of their vertical proportions. Instead, she uses a comparative study of large, rough units, i.e., the vertical lengths of torso, robe and feet, to arrive at her sequential groupings (tables 1–2). The “conspicuously plump massiveness” (quoted from Moortgat, see below) of the proportions of the small Gudea images are attributed by Colbow to the sculptors’ concern for the preservation of the mass of the stone block (p. 30). On the other hand, she sees in the more realistic proportions of life-size Gudea images the sculptors’ willingness to sacrifice the stone to achieve ideal, mathematically determined proportions, points with which my findings are in agreement.

For reference to a distinctive canon of proportions in the statues of Gudea, see B. L. Schlossman, “Portraiture in Mesopotamia in the Late Third and Early Second Millennium B.C.,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 26 (1978/79): 57, 60. Schlossman has noted the insistence, in statues of Gudea, on harmonically related surface patterns that are treated as a leitmotif, applied to modular referents of an underlying geometric structure. She found consistency in the relative proportions of head to shoulders, and of the modular width of the eye, nose and mouth, to the width of the face. For brief comments on the proportions of Gudea statues, see E. Strommenger, “Das Menschenbild in der altnesopotamischen Rundplastik,” *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 1 (1960): 85, who attributes the exact relationship she sees between the measurements of limbs and body to the use of stone as the medium of manufacture. For a similar view, see A. Spycket, *La Statuaire du proche-orient ancien* (Leiden, 1981), 190. A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 1969), 62f., alludes to the evolution of an artistic canon in the art of the time of Gudea’s father-in-law, Ur-Baba. He finds an element of portraiture in Gudea’s statuary, with which Schlossman (op. cit., 57) and Spycket (op. cit., 190f., 194f.) are in agreement. Against the use, in ancient Near Eastern art, of portraiture, in the modern sense of a lifelike and realistic delineation of an individual, see I. Winter’s review of Spycket’s book, in *JCS* 36 (1984): 170f. For an early effort toward the identification of the canon of proportions in the art of the ancient Near East, see P. Albenda, “An Investigation of the Working Methods of the Ancient Near Eastern Sculptor” (M.A. thesis, Columbia Univ., 1962).

Gudea’s tutelary god Ningishzida. The latest group is characterized by colossal and life-size diorite images inscribed with a fully developed dedication formula and addressed to Ningirsu and other leading gods of the city-state of Lagash/Girsu (statues D, A–C, E–H, K, in chronological order).

The inferences drawn from Steible’s study are that the earliest inscribed statues date from a time when Gudea lacked access to the sources of Magan diorite, evidenced in the use of heterogeneous stones and small-scale statues (statues M, N, O). Then followed his initial and limited access to diorite sources, indicated by the small-scale diorite and dolerite statues of the intermediate group (statues P, I, Q). Gudea’s subsequent triumphant statement on acquisition, transportation, manufacture and emplacement of diorite images, reflected in the exaggerated scale of the colossal seated statue D, is followed by the latest group of statues, produced when diorite was plentiful. The latter are represented by life-size diorite images that embody the classical form and style of the majority of Gudea’s inscribed statues.

As a modest corollary to Horst Steible’s brilliant and eloquent exposition, the present paper explores evidence for the use of a system of proportions in three life-size, diorite statues, two inscribed and one uninscribed, that are representative of the classical style associated with the latest phase of sculpture from the reign of Gudea. The three statues selected for the present analysis are also sufficiently similar to each other in dimension, gesture, and posture as to allow reconstruction of the missing heads, in the two inscribed examples, on the basis of their comparison with the uninscribed statue.

I

The present paper is a follow-up on an earlier study by this writer on the systems of proportions used for the depiction of the human form in the art of the ancient Near East. That study had argued that the ancient Near Eastern system of proportions in Achaemenid art, specifically that datable to the reign of Darius I (521–486 B.C.), is evidenced in the grid pattern of standard bricks used in decorated wall panels from Susa. The Achaemenid system of proportions in art, moreover, was shown to have been influenced by proportional ratios found in the Achaemenid system of linear measure. That paper concluded that, like the dimensions of the Achaemenid standard brick, proportional ratios in Achaemenid art were derived from an older Mesopotamian tradition. Although uncontested, the assumption of Mesopotamian

priority in the use of standard proportions in art has remained illusive.²

This paper seeks to test the assumption of the priority of the ancient Mesopotamian canon of proportions in art, through quantification of proportional ratios with the aid of the technique of photogrammetry. Analytical photogrammetry offers objectively verifiable measurements of proportional ratios through calculation of coordinates in an arbitrary coordinate system. This method of measurement is especially appropriate for determination of proportional ratios in monumental stone sculpture in the round, which lacks obvious proportional guidelines, such as those provided by the grid pattern of decorated brick panels.³ Test samples for this study have been selected from the latest group of Neo-Sumerian stone sculpture from the reign of Gudea of Lagash, datable to the last quarter of the third millennium B.C. The aim of the present study is to determine proportional ratios in three diagnostic statues that, as *pars pro toto*, may be expected to represent the standards that prevailed in the visual arts of the age. The samples selected for study are three standing statues of Gudea, two inscribed statues, statues A and E, in the Louvre Museum, and one uninscribed statue, BM 122910, in the British Museum.⁴ These statues are distinguished by the use of diorite and dolomite as media of manufacture, and by their life-size dimensions and standing postures. Statues A and E are also linked by their dedicatory formulae and Sumerian phraseology

which, according to Horst Steible's study, place them firmly within the last group of inscribed statues from the reign of Gudea.⁵ Although uninscribed, BM 122910 is included in the present study because of its close similarity to statues A and E in terms of scale, posture, and style, and because it remains the only statue with these particulars that has been assembled with a matching head. BM 122910 is thus used here to aid in a tentative reconstruction of the heads on the two inscribed, headless statues under study.⁶

II

The use of Gudea statuary as a test case for determination of the system of proportions used for the depiction of the human form in the art of the ancient Near East is appropriate for the following reasons. The statues of Gudea, which are known in remarkably large numbers, remain in a relatively good state of preservation and come largely from a known archaeological context.⁷ All the inscribed Gudea stat-

² G. Azarpay, W. G. Lambert, A. D. Kilmer, W. J. Heimpel, "Proportional Guidelines in Ancient Near Eastern Art," *JNES* 46 (1987): 183-213.

³ On the use of photogrammetry for measurement of sculpture, see E. Guralnick, "The Proportions of Kouroi," *AJA* 82 (1978): 470f.; idem, "The Proportions of Korai," *AJA* 85 (1981): 463f.; idem, "Profiles of Kouroi," *AJA* 89 (1985): 409; Shinji Fukai et al., *Taq-i Bustan III: Photogrammetric Elevations*, The Tokyo University Iran-Iraq Archaeological Expedition, Report 19 (Tokyo, 1983); J. Davis-Kimball, "The Canon of Proportions in Achaemenid Art" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, 1988).

⁴ For statue A (Louvre AO 8, "petite statue debout"), see Flemming Johansen, *Statues of Gudea: Ancient and Modern*, Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology 6 (Copenhagen, 1978), 7-8; E. Strommenger, "Gudea (B. Archäologisch)," *RLA* (1971): 681. For statue E (Louvre AO 6, "statue aux larges épaules"), see Strommenger, "Gudea," 681; Johansen, *Statues of Gudea*, 9. For BM 122910, see Johansen, *Statues of Gudea*, 22, nn. 63f.; Schlossman, "Portraiture in Mesopotamia," 56-60.

⁵ Steible, "The Chronological Order of the Statue of Gudea," op. cit.

⁶ *BMQ* 6.2 (1931): 31f.; Schlossman, "Portraiture in Mesopotamia," 56-60; Johansen, *The Statues of Gudea*, 22, erroneously associates BM 122910 with another Gudea torso, bearing the inscription BM 92988, in the British Museum. The imprecise joining of the surface of the head and torso of BM 122910, commented upon by Johansen (op. cit., 22), may be expected to have resulted from chipping of the surface along the sharp edges of the fracture after separation of the head from the torso. The only Gudea head that has been joined to a matching body from controlled excavations is the small-scale statue I, which belongs to the intermediate group of inscribed Gudea statues, and, hence would be inappropriate for use toward reconstruction of the head in the statues A and E, datable to the latest group of Gudea sculptures. The head of statue I (Louvre AO 41091), "petite statue assise, complète") from Tell V, Tello, was uncovered by de Sarzec in 1898, the body by Cros in 1903, see L. Heuzey, *Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes* (Paris, 1902), no. 56; Strommenger, "Gudea," 682; Johansen, *Statues of Gudea*, 11.

⁷ E. de Sarzec et al., *Découvertes en Chaldée I-II* (Paris, 1884). A. Parrot, *Tello, vingt campagnes de fouilles (1877-1933)* (Paris, 1948); A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš*, *Analecta Orientalia* 30 (Rome, 1966): 177-88; idem, "Gudea," *RLA* (1971): 676-79; Strommenger, "Das Menschenbild," 103; idem, "Gudea," 680-87; Schlossman, "Portraiture in Mesopotamia," 56-65; Spycket, *La Statuaire du proche-orient ancien*, 184-94.

ues found in supervised excavations are of diorite, the hard and valued "stone of Magan," of generally dark color.⁸ The majority are life-size statues, generally over one meter in height, with a few that are a little less than half that size.⁹ The dedication formulae inscribed on the statues indicate that they were originally destined for emplacement in the numerous temples built, refurbished, or renovated by Gudea for some 19 gods of the Sumerian pantheon.¹⁰ The statues date to a period of at least eleven years when Gudea ruled as *ensi* of the Second Dynasty of Lagash, founded by Ur-Bau, Gudea's predecessor and father-in-law. Gudea, whose reign perhaps preceded and overlapped with that of Ur-Nammu, of Ur (2111–2098 B.C.), was succeeded by his son and grandson, Ur-Ningirsu and Pirigme, whose dynasty ended with the defeat of its last ruler Nammahni by Ur-Nammu.¹¹

III

The quantification of the Neo-Sumerian system of linear measure is graphically illustrated on two well-known statues of Gudea, from Tello, in the Louvre. Statues F and B, known as "Architect à la règle," and "Architect au plan," respectively, depict the seated ruler with a tablet on his lap with a stylus for right-handed use, and a graduated rule placed on the upper edge of the tablet (broken in statue B).¹² Whereas the blank tablet on Gudea's lap in statue F is thought to express the ruler's expectation of inspiration and divine instruction, the completed plan displayed on the tablet in statue B may attest to the realization of the plan and construction of a temple that, according to the statue's inscription, was dedicated to the god-

dess Gatumdug.¹³ The rule, depicted on the tablets in statues F and B, records Gudea's cubit of 24 fingers. The scale of the rule shows 16 nominally equal divisions, or fingers, with a total length of 269mm, and an average length of 16.6mm (.66") for each division. Five of the divisions on Gudea's rule are further subdivided into fifths, fourths, thirds and halves. The rule of 16 fingers corresponds with the Sumerian two-thirds (of a cubit) measure, which may be reckoned by means of 6 hands placed next to each other (exclusive of thumbs).¹⁴

Measured against Gudea's cubit of 24 fingers, a composite of the three standing statues of Gudea under study (fig. 1) shows that the overall height of the figure may be expressed in six multiples of the length of the forearm (here measured from the inside of the elbow to wrist).¹⁵ The similarity in proportional ratios between the three statues under study permits tentative reconstruction of the head in the inscribed statues A and E, by reference to the assembled head and torso of the uninscribed statue in the British Museum. The breakdown of the six divisions of the body, suggested by the major subdivisions of Gudea's cubit is as follows. The *head* (crown to chin/neckline), *upper torso* (chin/neckline to elbow, marked by the tip of the line of the inner elbow, or the lowest line of the fanned pleats on the draped arm), *upper legs* (buttocks to knees, measured vertically), *lower legs* (knees to hemline), and *hemline to baseline*. Since the knees are not visible under the garment, their position is here arbitrarily assigned to a point midway between buttocks and hemline. The six divisions of the body noted here correspond with the bends in the body, roughly at the neck, waist, hips, knees, and ankles. Photogrammetric measurements obtained, where possible, for the same six divisions, in the three statues

⁸ Johansen, *Statues of Gudea*, 16, 33. For the identification Magan, of Ur III sources, with Oman, see W. J. Heimpel, "Das Untere Meer," *ZA* 77 (1987): 22–49, 60, 69f.

⁹ Johansen, *Statues of Gudea*, 33. There is discrepancy between measurements of the height of statues A and E, given by Johansen (*Statues of Gudea*, 7, 9), and those obtained through photogrammetry. The height of statues A and E are reported by Johansen as 1.24m and 1.42m, respectively, and photogrammetrically determined as 1.14m and 1.32m.

¹⁰ Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas*, 174–77; Strommenger, "Gudea," 681f.

¹¹ P. Steinkeller, "The Date of Gudea and his Dynasty," *JCS* (1988).

¹² Parrot, *Tello*, 161, 163; Strommenger, "Gudea," 682; Johansen, *The Statues of Gudea*, 10–11.

¹³ Parrot, *Tello*, 161, 163.

¹⁴ De Sarzec et al., *Découvertes en Chaldée* II, 192, pl. 15; M. A. Powell, "Sumerian Numeration" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1971), 128; idem, "Ancient Mesopotamian Weight Metrology," in *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 203: *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979), 77f.

¹⁵ On the cubit of Gudea, see Powell, "Ancient Mesopotamian Weight Metrology," 77f. The elbow to wrist measure, comparable to the Egyptian canonic two-thirds of a cubit measure, may have been used in the Gudea sculpture as a metaphor for, rather than a literal expression of, the cubital forearm (the distance from elbow to the tip of the medius); cf. E. Iversen, *Canon of Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 2nd ed. (Warminster, 1975), 29.

**Crown to Chin/Neckline:**

BM 122910 22.1 cm

Chin/Neckline to Base of Block:

Average 123.0 cm

Statue A 114.0 cm

Statue E 132.0 cm

Chin/Neckline to Inner Elbow Line:

Average 20.9 cm

BM 122910 23.1 cm

Statue A 19.0 cm

Statue E 20.6 cm

Chin/Neckline to Base of Left Hand:

Average 26.2 cm

BM 122910 26.5 cm

Statue A 23.4 cm

Statue E 28.8 cm

Outer Elbow to Wrist:

Average 25.6 cm

BM 122910 23.5 cm

Statue A 23.7 cm

Statue E 29.7 cm

Base of Left Hand to Buttocks:

Average 23.8 cm

Statue A 21.8 cm

Statue E 25.9 cm

Base of Left Hand to Hemline:

Average 71.5 cm

Statue A 65.4 cm

Statue E 77.6 cm

Buttocks to Knees:

Average 23.8 cm

Statue A 21.8 cm

Statue E 25.9 cm

Knees to Hemline:

Average 23.8 cm

Statue A 21.8 cm

Statue E 25.9 cm

Hemline to Baseline:

Average 25.4 cm

Statue A 24.9 cm

Statue E 25.9 cm

Fig. 1. A composite drawing of statues A and E, in the Louvre, and BM 122910, in the British Museum, measured against Gudea's cubit of 24 divisions. Measurements of modular units, obtained through photogrammetry, are indicated in corresponding sections of the image. Drawn by Jane Becker after photographs prepared by David de Vries.

under study, yield ratios that approximate 1:1:1:1:1, for, head : upper torso : lower torso : upper legs : lower legs : hemline to baseline.¹⁶

These findings suggest that the human form in stone sculpture from the latest phase of Gudea statuary, exemplified by the images measured in this study, was conceived as tiers of six superimposed units, or building blocks, with a 1:6 ratio of head to total height. This proportional ratio, however, was subject to modification in small-scale statues, from the early and intermediate groups of Gudea statuary, where a 1:4 and a 1:5 ratio of head to body is seen to prevail. It would be superfluous to give detailed and precise measurements of these boldly segmented statues, which are made of units clearly divided at the bends of the neck, waist, hips, knees and ankles. The explanation for the peculiar proportions of these awkwardly short and squat statues must be sought in the Neo-Sumerian sculptor's reverence for stone, especially for the noble diorite absent among the stones

used in the earliest group of Gudea statues. Diorite was initially imported to Lagash in small quantities during the intermediate phase of sculpture from Gudea's reign. The reluctance to reduce the integrity of the imported, uncut stone block on the part of the sculptors of the intermediate group may thus account for the elimination, in the small-scale Gudea statues, of one or two vertical units from the standard six-tiered format. Moreover, if, as suggested by Heimpel, diorite was collected and shipped to Lagash in the form of boulders, rather than cut to precise specifications in quarries, then the natural shape of the boulder may have influenced the format of the image carved from it.¹⁷ Rather than reduce the width of the boulder to produce proportionally smaller statues of canonic six head-lengths, the carvers of the early and intermediate phases appear to have modified standard proportions to preserve the integrity of the stone boulder.

The point to be made is that the rarity and value of stone, especially of diorite, as material of manufacture during the early and intermediate phases of sculpture in the reign of Gudea led the Neo-Sumerian artist to subordinate the ratios of the prevailing artistic canon to the priorities of the stone medium. That standard proportions prevailed in the majority of sculptures in the classical, or late group of Gudea statues, moreover, testifies not only to the increasing abundance of diorite in Gudea's later years, but also to the implementation of artistic norms in the visual arts in an age that also sought to establish standards in other media of cultural expression.

¹⁶ Since the statue and its base were carved from the same block of stone, the height of the base, or platform, was evidently reckoned in the overall height of the image and in calculation of height/width ratios; cf. the divisions of height of the image, inclusive of base, in ancient Egypt, as evidenced in representations of divisions of scaffolds built during the process of the carving of statues, recorded in a painting from the tomb of Rekhmire, Western Thebes, ca. 1430 B.C. See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' I*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition (New York, 1943; repr. Arno Press, 1973), pl. 60. On the importance of the base/throne in Gudea's imagery, cf. specific references to the building, by Gudea, of thrones for cult images in inscriptions on statues A and E (see Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, 181, 193f.). For measurements of modular units, obtained through photogrammetry for the three statues of Gudea under study, see fig. 1. Photogrammetric measurements of fractions of the modular "cubit," used for the proportions of details of the head and bodies, were also obtained by the photogrammetric firm of Hammon, Wallen, Jensen, and Associates, Inc. However, the smaller ratios have been omitted from the set of measurements given in fig. 1. The latter treat only large modular units.

¹⁷ W. J. Heimpel, "Das untere Meer," *ZA* 77 (1987): 22–49, 60, 69f., appendix. The precision of proportional ratios, notable in even small details of Neo-Sumerian sculpture in the round, may indicate the use of area measures, in square cubits, reached by multiplication of length and width/breadth distances; cf. reference to the use of area measures in Neo-Assyrian statues that were covered with gold leaf, S. Dalley, J. N. Postgate, "The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser," *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud III*, The British School of Archaeology in Iraq (Oxford, 1984), 158–63. I wish to thank Professor Wolfgang Heimpel for this reference.

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The Snake-Man in the Art of Bronze Age Bactria*

G. A Z A R P A Y

The Bronze Age culture of Central Asia has been the subject of numerous recent publications that largely treat discoveries of the Soviet-Afghan archaeological expeditions of the 1970s and clandestine finds in the south Bactrian plain, near Balkh and Mazar-i Sharif, in north-western Afghanistan.¹ Among the latter are two sealstones, decorated with extraordinary portrayals of a frontal male image that are tentatively interpreted here as a reference to a drought monster, a precursor to the Indo-Iranian *Aži Dahāka* (figs. 1–2).

This interpretation is based on formal and substantive considerations, cited below, and on the assumption of the prevalence in proto-historic times, as in the subsequent historic age, of the belief in the concept of supernatural control over water, which was a precious resource, in the oasis civilization that flourished in the now semi-desert steppe of northern Afghanistan.

The first historic reference to Bactria (O. P. *Bāxtriš*), and the satrapal capital at Bactra, modern Balkh, is found in the inscriptions of Darius I, which identify that important East Iranian land as a source of gold.² Gold and the two-humped camel are depicted as the special offerings of the Bactrian delegation to the Great King, in the tribute procession on the northern and eastern stairway reliefs of the Apadana, at Persepolis.³

The fabulous gold of Bactria, which lured Alexander to the banks of the Oxus and which continued to tantalize the Graeco-Roman world, is now shown to have been tapped already in protohistoric times. Gold was evidently procured, processed, and crafted in Bronze Age Bactria at a time when the fluvial lands of the Middle Oxus first experienced an

economic and artistic florescence. The agricultural economy of Late Bronze Age Bactria, at the end of the third and the beginning of the second millennium B.C., like that of other protohistoric oasis cultures in neighboring regions, was the fruit of enormous labor and resources that were required to irrigate alluvial lands in the arid zones of Central Asia. It is noteworthy that land cultivation in Bactria and in other northern provinces of Central Asia is seen as an intrusive practice that at times replaced the older tradition of pastoral nomadism based on the domestication of the horse and the Bactrian camel.⁴

The unresolved social conflict between herders and cultivators that, as seen by Maurizio Tosi, characterizes Bactrian civilization of the end of the third millennium B.C. may be expected to find reflection in the ideology and material culture of the time. As a case in point, the present paper seeks to examine a unique male image, depicted on two Bactrian sealstones, against its cultural context in Central Asia of the Late Bronze Age.⁵

Description

One of the seals under study, a black chlorite, rectangular plaque (3.7 × 3.7 × 1.0 cm), with lenticular section and a string hole drilled through its longitudinal axis, was obtained on the art market, and is now housed in the collection of the Musée du Louvre, in Paris (AO 26254).⁶

A frontal human head decorates one face (fig. 1, right) of this two-sided seal which bears, on its second face, the profile image of a winged feline with serpents in the field (fig. 1,



Fig. 1. Two-sided chlorite seal (3.7 cm; l. sealing; r. seal) in the Murghab style, attributed to Bactria, Late Bronze Age, 2100–1800 B.C. Louvre AO 26254. Photo: Courtesy the Musée du Louvre.

left, sealing). The seal's typology and schematic design, represented by sharp, linear outlines and flat relief, have led Pierre Amiet and Viktor Sarianidi to identify it with a Bactrian glyptic tradition, classified as "Murghab Style," known from excavated examples of seals from Bronze Age sites in southern Turkmenistan and northwestern Afghanistan (see below).⁷

The frontal human mask on the Louvre seal portrays a male head with large concentric circles for eyes, flared nostrils, and puffed cheeks set in a round face. The aureola of mops of sleek hair and whiskers, swept toward each rounded ear, is another startling attribute of this unique image in which Sarianidi sees an eloquent expression of a legendary monster of the native Bactrian mythology.⁸ Comparison of the Bactrian mask with the ancient Near Eastern Humbaba mask of Syro-Mesopotamian art of the early second millennium B.C., as suggested by Amiet, and with other apotropaic masks, such as the Egyptian Bes or the Greek Gorgon, moreover, serves to underscore the uniqueness of the Bactrian vision.⁹ Although the emotion intended by the grimace of the face on the Bactrian seal remains uncertain, the apotropaic function of the awesome visage

is ascertained in its compositional format and by comparison with a frontal image depicted on a second Bronze Age Bactrian seal, selected for study in the present paper.

The second seal under study, a recent acquisition by Frank L. Kovacs, is a round copper-bronze disc, probably wax cast and finished with a graver, with a slightly indented rim, and a loop handle on the back (diam. 3.3 cm, ht. 1.4 cm, thickness .6 cm) (figs. 2–3).¹⁰ The circular face of the seal is decorated in low relief with the image of a naked man in a kneeling position, with a relatively large frontal head and torso, and the lower body depicted in left profile. The image is provided with extraordinary attributes, represented by a pair of horizontal horns placed behind the ears, wings on the shoulders, and arms that curl up and terminate in the heads of a pair of open-jawed serpents. A third serpent, coiled around the waist of the figure, unfurls to the right of the composition.

Style and Iconography

The frontal head of the image on the Kovacs seal shares a striking resemblance to the an-

thropomorphic mask on the Louvre seal (fig. 1) by virtue of its large concentric eyes, flared nostrils, puffed cheeks, smooth chin, and wild mops of hair and whiskers swept toward the ears. The image also shares numerous stylistic traits with Murghab Style seals with which it may be classified on the following grounds. In contrast to the strong definition of the facial features, the body of the figure is rendered in fluid outline with legs that taper in reduced feet. The elastic S-shaped curve of the kneeling posture, with the back knee raised above the front, is a recurrent feature on Murghab Style seals.¹¹ The posture is one of several versions noted in the arts of Central Asia, the Iranian plateau, Elam and the Indus civilization, aptly described by Edith Porada as sitting on the legs.¹² The kneeling posture that appears in the Murghab Style is perhaps most realistically portrayed in sculpture from the Indus Valley civilization, where it is articulated as a squatting position, with one knee folded under the lowered buttocks, and the other raised with the foot resting on the ground.¹³

The attributes of the image on the Kovacs seal, represented by horizontally placed horns, flame-shaped wings, and serpent-shaped arms, are all documented in the iconography of Murghab Style seals.¹⁴ Flame-shaped wings and serpents, though unconnected with a human image, are also associated with the feline monster on the second face of the Bactrian seal in the Louvre (fig. 1). The horizontal horns with upturned ends on the image on the Kovacs seal, which most closely approximate the horns of a frontal leonine monster on a Bactrian Murghab Style seal, in the Louvre, find more distant parallels in seals from eastern Iran and Elam from the turn of the third millennium.¹⁵ The flame-shaped wings depicted as short parallel lines, and the open-jawed serpents, into which the arms of the figure on the Kovacs seal terminate, are both recurrent motifs on Murghab Style seals where they appear as attributes of animals and anthropomorphic beings.¹⁶

Typology

The anthropomorphic mask on the Louvre seal (AO 26254) (fig. 1) is firmly placed among a

series of Late Bronze Age Central Asian seals, classified as Murghab Style. This designation is justified by the fact that, besides Bactrian seals of this series obtained from plundered burials of northwestern Afghanistan, such seals are known from stratified levels at Bronze Age sites in Margiana, the delta of the Murghab River, in southern Turkmenistan.¹⁷

The Murghab Style seal is generally carved from black or dark-green chlorite in rectangular or round shapes (c. 2 cm across), with lentoid or three-edged section, and with one string hole drilled through its longitudinal axis. The faces of the seal are decorated in intaglio with the drill, graver, chisel and cutters. Sarianidi believes the Murghab Style seals to have had a talismanic significance, hence their designation as seal-amulets.¹⁸ However, he concedes that since such seals were carved in intaglio, they were meant to be used to make impressions.¹⁹ This consideration, and the fact that cylinder seal impressions are found on Late Bronze Age pottery sherds from Margiana and Bactria, suggests their additional utilitarian function.²⁰

Wax cast, copper-bronze Murghab Style seals are known in tetrahedral, round, and stepped rhomboid shapes. The last is generally provided with two string holes drilled longitudinally through opposite corners of the seal.²¹ Tetrahedrons have a loop handle with intaglio decoration on the base and the sides. The flat relief and linear style of the designs of the Murghab Style stone seals are occasionally reproduced on metal seals. The latter may be cast as a solid disc with a loop handle on the back (fig. 4), or as a compartmented seal in openwork or ajouré techniques, with champlévé, fretted, or cloisonné decoration.²²

Although the majority of Murghab Style seals come from plundered graves, a small number were found in excavations in settlements and burials. The Taip fortress in Margiana, which may have served as the administrative center of the oasis, has yielded cylinder seal impressions on pottery sherds and actual stamp-cylinders of local manufacture.²³ A similar stamp-cylinder was also excavated, together with stone Murghab Style stamp seals, in a Togolok 1 burial, in Margiana.²⁴ The placement of the seal near the wrist or neck of the deceased in burials excavated in Margiana may be indicative of its manner of use in that region.²⁵



Fig. 2. Copper-bronze seal (3.3 cm) decorated with the image of a snake-armed man with horns and wings, attributed to Bactria, Late Bronze Age, 2100–1800 B.C. Frank L. Kovacs Collection. Photo: Courtesy Frank L. Kovacs.

Chronology

The period proposed here for the two Bactrian seals under study is the initial stage of the Late Bronze Age, dated to 2100–1800 B.C., which coincides with the transition from an earlier “urban” to a later “post-urban” phase in the civilization of Central Asia.²⁶ A recent review

of the sequence of Bactrian seals by reference to the material assemblages of Margiana and Bactria, proposed by Henri-Paul Francfort, offers the following chronological order.²⁷

The glyptic sequence of Margiana and Bactria begins with the *earliest* group, dated to *Phase A* (2300–2100 B.C.), represented by stamp-cylinders in stone, and metal stamp seals in ajouré

technique (excavated at Dashli 3, Kelleli, Gonur 1, and perhaps Taip). This is followed by a *transitional* group, dated to the initial stage of *Phase B* (2100–1800 B.C.), represented by metal seals in cloisonné technique, and by early Murghab Style stone stamps (excavated at Sapalli, Dashli 1, Togolok 21, Taip 1, and some levels of Togolok 1). The *latest* group, dated to the terminal stage of *Phase B* (1800–1500 B.C.), is represented by late Murghab Style seals and with the near disappearance of seals in the Mollali phase of Late Bronze Age Bactria.

The material assemblage associated with *Phase A*, the “urban” period, of Middle and Late Bronze Age Central Asia (2300–2100 B.C.), constitutes monumental structures now believed to have served as granaries, a rich and abundant metallurgy, and skillfully worked sculpture and artifacts.²⁸ The wealth and typology of this assemblage shows *Phase A* to have been a period of maximum inter-regional exchange and contact with the urban civilization of Elam, Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley. The distinctiveness of this Central Asian civilization and its affinity to the cultures of the Iranian plateau have inspired its designation as a “Turanian,” or “Outer Iranian” *koiné*.²⁹

Phase B, the “post-urban” period in Margiana and Bactria, begins with the initial or transitional stage of the Late Bronze Age (Gonur phase), dated to 2100–1800 B.C., which is followed by a terminal stage of the Late Bronze Age (Togolok phase), dated to 1800–1500 B.C. The material assemblage from this period manifests a reduction in variety, a decline in craftsmanship (with the exception of metalwork), and the dissolution of patterns of interaction with the outside world.³⁰ This period also coincides with the time of the abandonment of important settlements on the Iranian plateau and the collapse of the Indus civilization in South Asia. The monumental architecture of the terminal period of the Late Bronze Age, represented by Togolok 21, now identified with granaries and storage facilities, has received a different functional explanation by Viktor Sarianidi. Sarianidi interprets the Togolok 21 structure as a proto-Zoroastrian temple, connected with the preparation of haoma-type ritual drinks, and secondarily with fire worship.³¹ The shift noted in settlement patterns and locations in Bactria, during the terminal phase of the Late Bronze Age, has been linked

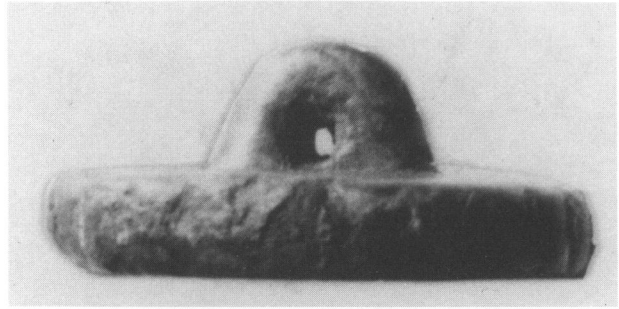


Fig. 3. Copper-bronze seal (fig. 2), side view.

with the introduction of new subsistence strategies associated with the advent of mounted pastoral nomadism.³²

The following stylistic and typological considerations of the two Bactrian seals under discussion (figs. 1–3) suggest their attribution to the initial stage (Gonur phase) of the Late Bronze Age, dated to 2100–1800 B.C. The free, “cursive” style of carving found on the two Bactrian seals most closely approximates that of the Murghab Style seals, from the Gonur and early Togolok phases, of the Late Bronze Age.³³ More specifically, the combination of cursive outline, plastic modelling, and axial composition, which characterizes the design of the Kovacs seal (fig. 2), is found in the designs of seals from Togolok 21, in Margiana, the south Bactrian site of Dashli 1, and the north Bactrian site of Djarkutan, in southern Uzbekistan.³⁴ These stylistic features are manifested on a metal seal excavated at Djarkutan, which is similar to the Kovacs seal also in shape, technique, and the material of its manufacture (fig. 4).³⁵

Snake-armed anthropomorphic images depicted on Bactrian compartmented seals from this phase also offer iconographic parallels to the image on the Kovacs seal (fig. 2). A notable point of resemblance is found in the treatment of the raised arms transformed into wings on a Bactrian compartmented seal in the Louvre, in a manner similar to the incorporation of serpents by the image on the Kovacs seal.³⁶

Meaning

If an apotropaic function is suggested for the enigmatic frontal head on the Bactrian seal in



Fig. 4. Bronze seal from the north Bactrian site of Djarkutan, burial 192, Uzbekistan, dated to the Late Bronze Age, 2100–1800 B.C. After Kohl, *Central Asia*, pl. 1-c.

the Louvre (fig. 1), the same function may be claimed for the image with similar facial features and frontal head on the seal in the Kovacs collection (fig. 2). However, additional attributes of the latter, represented by bird's wings, bovine horns, and serpent-shaped arms, suggest its identification with a more specific concept.

The wings of the image on the Kovacs seal are indicated as short, fin-shaped appendages to the shoulders, rather than as extensions of the arms as found on some bird-armed monsters in Bactrian glyptic.³⁷ Such vestigial wings appear as ubiquitous attributes of fantastic beings in Murghab Style seals and for that reason may be understood as a general statement about the supernatural identity of the image.³⁸

The bovine horns of the figure on the Kovacs seal, perhaps a rare instance of adaptation in Bactrian glyptic of the divine attribute in the art of ancient Western Asia, may imply, by comparison with the latter, mastery over cattle.³⁹ But unlike the Mesopotamian version which shows the horns attached to the helmet of the deity, here, as in the glyptic of Eastern Iran, horns grow directly from the head of the

image which appears to incorporate the qualities of the animal.⁴⁰

Similarly, the snakes that sprout from the shoulders of the figure on the Kovacs seal are shown as actual physical attributes, and as substitutes for human arms.⁴¹ This fusion of serpent and man, which invests the human with qualities embodied by the snake, is more graphically literal than the traditional formulas used in the art of the ancient Near East. Thus the snakes on the shoulders of the seated figure in a version of the Etana epic, found on a cylinder seal formerly in the M. Foroughi collection, are independent of the arms of the figure and appear as extraordinary attributes of the otherwise human image.⁴² The depiction on Murghab Style seals of serpents, alongside or held by human and anthropomorphic beings, is seen by Sarianidi as a reference to the chthonic power of the conquering hero.⁴³ The depiction of serpents in this glyptic tradition is also associated with the concepts of longevity, immortality, fertility, fruitfulness of plants, with phallic symbols, and as a reference to hidden sources of water.⁴⁴

Seen in the context of the subsequent religious notions of the Iranian world, the snake-man fusion in the figure on the Kovacs seal (fig. 2) conjures up a vivid image of the Zoroastrian concept of Aži Dahāka, whose full name is explained as "snake-man," or "hominoid serpent."⁴⁵ As a creation of evil and antagonist of the true mazdayasnian religion, the Avestan Aži Dahāka is believed to have been derived from an earlier Indo-Iranian drought monster, responsible for restraining heavenly waters.⁴⁶ The Avestan demon Aži Dahāka is transformed into a human tyrant in later Zoroastrian Persian sources which portray Aždahāk, or Zōhḥāk, as embodiment of foreign tyranny. The evil nature of the latter is manifested in the pair of serpents that sprout from his shoulders.⁴⁷

In the *Shāhnāma* the arabicized Zōhḥāk, an agent of evil and wickedness, must propitiate the serpents on his shoulders by offering them a daily diet of human brains.⁴⁸ Zōhḥāk's tyrannical rule over the decimated population of Iran is there said to have ended with the rebellion of the blacksmith Kāva who, through collaboration with the princely Faridūn, vanquished the "dragon-king" and chained him to Mount Demavand to be slain at the end of time.⁴⁹

The transformation of the Avestan Aži Dahāka, or snake-man, into a "dragon-king" in Persian sources, as observed by James Russell, is a logical development in Zoroastrian thinking that equated spiritual righteousness and the sovereignty of Ahura Mazda with temporal values of righteous kingship.⁵⁰

The evolution of the concept of the Indo-Iranian drought monster, Aži Dahāka, from its vilification in Zoroastrian sources as an antagonist of true religion, to its identification with Zōhḥāk, the tyrannical and illegitimate ruler of Iran, is incompletely documented in the contemporaneous arts of the Iranian world. It is only from the latest stage of this evolutionary process that Aži Dahāka, portrayed as the tyrannical Zōhḥāk, is depicted in the arts of the East Iranian world.⁵¹

Had Aži Dahāka, the Indo-Iranian drought monster, found graphic expression in the protohistoric art of the East Iranian world, it may well have appeared in the guise of an image similar to that on the seal in the Kovacs collection (fig. 2). Like the latter image, the hypothetical figure may have been depicted as an apotropaic male figure whose deified status might have been suggested by bovine and bird attributes, and whose primary function, the manipulation of the flow of rivers, might well have found symbolic expression in the transformation of his arms into serpents. If the extraordinary features of the frontal head on the Kovacs seal are seen as a reference to the specific concept of a drought monster, as suggested here, then a similar notion must surely have inspired the portrayal of the nearly identical countenance of the frontal male head on the Louvre seal (fig. 1).

Notes

* This is offered as a belated contribution to the volume of the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* honoring Richard N. Frye.

1. For bibliographical references, see P. L. Kohl, *Central Asia: Palaeolithic Beginnings to the Iron Age* (Paris, 1984); H.-P. Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugai: Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale Protohistorique I-II*, Mémoires de la mission archéologique française en Asie Central 2 (Paris, 1989).

2. R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich, 1984), 61, 112; F. Vallat, "Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius Ier," *StIr* 1 (1972), 9, 13; Vallat et al., *CDAFI* 4 (Paris, 1974).

3. E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 1, OIP 68 (Chicago, 1953), pl. 41.

4. M. Tosi, "The Origins of Early Bactrian Civilization," in *Bactria an Ancient Oasis Civilization from the Sands of Afghanistan*, Studies and Documents 3, ed. G. Ligabue and S. Salvatori (Venice, 1988), 66-72.

5. *Ibid.*, 72.

6. I wish to thank Dr. Pierre Amiet for information about seal AO 26254, which was given to the Louvre in the 1970s by the late M. Foroughi. I wish to thank Dr. Annie Caubet, Curator General of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the Louvre Museum, for the photograph of the seal, and for permission to publish it.

7. V. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan* (Leipzig, 1986), p. 240, fig. 110; P. Amiet, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," in *Bactria an Ancient Oasis Civilization*, pp. 171-73, fig. 17-e.

8. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 223.

9. Amiet, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," 171. For images of Bes with a plumed headdress, see G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, OIP 52 (Chicago, 1939), pl. 8. For Bes images in the art of ancient Western Asia, datable to the second and first millennia B.C., see V. Wilson, "The Iconography of Bes with Particular Reference to the Cypriote Evidence," *Levant, Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem* 8 (1975), 83-103. For the Gorgon mask and image on early Greek gems, see J. Boardman, *Ancient Greek Gems: Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries B.C.* (London, 1968), pls. III:47-7, IV:49, XV:236. The flying hair of the frontal mask on the Bactrian seal under study is comparable to the plumed hairstyle of a male figure in a dance-like posture depicted on the stamp face of a Bronze Age stamp-cylinder from Margiana, see V. I. Sarianidi, "Mesopotamiia i Baktriia vo II tys. do n. e.," *SA* (1986.2), p. 37, fig. 3-4. Cf. the flying, sleek hair of images on the painted sherd and cylinder seal from Iron Age Iran, in R. D. Barnett, "Assyria and Iran," in *SPA*, vol. 14 (1967), figs. 1058-a, b. This hairstyle is perhaps also intended in the plumed headdress of the horned face and the Bes and animal heads on hammered gold discs of largely Achaemenid date, from the Oxus treasure, in the British Museum, see O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work*, 3d ed. (London, 1964), nos. 32, 40; E. V. Zeimal', *Amudari' inskii Klad* (Leningrad, 1979), nos. 47-32, 49-41-a, 50-42.

10. I wish to thank Frank L. Kovacs for providing me with photographs of this seal and for permission to publish them here.

11. P. Amiet, "Antiquités du désert de Lut," *RAAO* 68 (1974), 101–7; *idem*, "Antiquités de serpentine," *IrAn* 15 (1980), 163f.; *idem*, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," fig. 18a-b; Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, p. 243, figs. 119, 121, 125.

12. E. Porada, "Discussion of a Cylinder Seal, Probably from Southeast Iran," *IrAn* 23 (1988), 139. This position differs from the typical *Knielauf* posture, in which the buttocks are raised above the legs, in that here the buttocks are shown resting on one or both heels or legs. For the *Knielauf*, see W. G. Lambert, "Gilgamesh in Literature and Art," in *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada*, ed. A. E. Farkas et al. (Mainz, 1987), pp. 37–52, pls. VII–XI; I. Winter, *A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran*, University Museum Monographs 39 (Philadelphia, 1980), 8f.

13. J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. 3, repr. (Delhi, 1973), pl. C; E. C. L. During-Caspers, "More on the Sculpture from Mohenjo-daro," in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 45.3 (Naples, 1985), pl. III.

14. V. I. Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," in *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*, ed. P. L. Kohl (New York, 1981), 221–25.

15. *Horns*: Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, p. 173, fig. 17-f. Cf. the depiction of horns on divinities on cylinder seals from Tepe Yahya, datable to the end of the third millennium, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and M. Tosi, "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau," *EW* 23 (1973), fig. 22. For Elamite examples, see D. Collon, *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1988), p. 55, nos. 224, 229, 231.

16. *Wings*: Amiet, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," 171; Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, p. 245, figs. 105, 108, 109, 111, 118, 123, 124, 146. *Serpents*: Sarianidi, *ibid.*, pp. 231, 235, 282, figs. 123, 125–26.

17. Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style"; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 222f.

18. V. I. Sarianidi, *Drevnie zemledel'tsy Afganistana* (Moscow, 1977), 163; *idem*, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," 222f.; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 226, 239, 245. Sarianidi sees the motifs on these seals as references to concepts of abundance in water, fruitfulness, and property ownership, and with religious notions.

19. Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," 223.

20. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, p. 280, figs. 128, 133–35. For the distinction between seals and amulets in the Indus Valley civilization, see Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*,

tion, vol. 2, pp. 379f., 397; E. C. L. During-Caspers, "Sumerian Traders and Businessmen Residing in the Indus Valley Cities," *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 42.3 (1982), 341.

21. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 61, 223f. Sarianidi notes the earlier use of two string holes in Namazga IV seals, the Early Bronze Age in southern Turkmenistan (c. 3000–2500 B.C.), comparable to the practice documented for contemporaneous sites in southeastern Iran, southern Afghanistan and Baluchistan.

22. *Ibid.*, 60, 281–95; Amiet, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," 169.

23. I. S. Masimov, "Bronze Age Sites in the Lower Murghab," in *The Bronze Age Civilization of Central Asia*, 17; Sarianidi, "Margiana in the Bronze Age," 167–77; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 223, 280.

24. Masimov, "Bronze Age Sites in the Lower Murghab," 211; V. I. Sarianidi, "Protozoroastriiskii khram v Margiane," *VDI* (1989.1), 167; *idem*, "Sirokhettskie bozhestva v baktriisko-margianskom panteone," *SA* (1989.4), 20; Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugai*, vol. 1, p. 364.

25. Compare placement of seals at the wrist of the deceased in earlier burials from Shahr-i Sokhta, S. Tusa, "Stamp Seals and the Functional Analysis of their Sealings at Shahr-i Sokhta II–III," *South Asian Archaeology 1975*, ed. J. E. van Lohvizen-de Leeuw (Leiden, 1979), 9. Seals are said to have been placed at the hip, which perhaps indicates their attachment to belts, in Namazga V burials, the Middle Bronze Age, in southern Turkmenistan, V. M. Masson and V. I. Sarianidi, *Central Asia before the Achaemenids* (London, 1972), 122.

26. Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugai*, vol. 1, pp. 275, 230–41, 259. For a discussion of the chronology and terminologies proposed by Francfort, see Kohl, *Central Asia*, 217–39.

27. Francfort, *Fouilles de Shortugai*, vol. 1, 367f.

28. The dates quoted for the Central Asian Bronze Age in this paper are based on Philip Kohl's table, *Central Asia*, 226–29, 230f. Against Francfort's thesis of an "urban" phase shared equally by all the cultures of southern Central Asia, *ibid.*, 226–28, 239.

29. For a discussion of the distinctiveness of Bactrian culture, *ibid.*; C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "The Bronze Age of Bactria," in *Bactria an Ancient Oasis Civilization*, 18f. The term "Turanian," of Zoroastrian Persian sources, used in reference to Bactrians and to designate non-Iranian peoples around ancient Iran, which was revived by H. G. Rawlinson (*Bactria: The History of a Forgotten Empire* [London, 1912], 12f.), is now used in a more restricted sense to refer to the East Iranian-speaking peoples living in areas that correspond with the eastern provinces of the Achaemenid empire. For a discussion of the

"Turanian," or "Outer Iranian" artistic *koiné*, see P. Amiet, "Antiquités du désert de Lut: II," 1–8; M. Tosi, "The Development of Urban Societies in Turan," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn, XXV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Berlin*, ed. H. Kühne, H. J. Nissen, and J. Renger, Berliner Beiträge zum vorderen Orient 1 (Berlin, 1982), p. 61, n. 2; Amiet, "Elam and Bactria," in *Bactria an Ancient Oasis Civilization*, 127. On formal and iconographic affinities in the arts of Bactria, Elam and Mesopotamia, see P. Amiet, "Bactriane proto-historique," *Syria* 4 (1977), 89–121; *idem*, "Antiquités de Bactriane," *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 38 (1978), 153–64; *idem*, "Antiquités de serpentine," 155–66; M.-H. Pottier, *Matériel funéraire de la Bactriane méridionale de l'Age du Bronze* (Paris, 1984). For discussion of the Mesopotamian artistic *koiné* of the Ur III period in the Iranian world, see J. Deshayes, "A propos des terrasses hautes de la fin du IIIe millénaire en Iran et en Asie Centrale," *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie Centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*, Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, no. 567 (Paris, 1977), 106.

30. Kohl, *Central Asia*, 240.

31. V. I. Sarianidi, "Protozoroastriiskii khram v Margiane," 152–69; Kohl, *Central Asia*, 240; C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky proposes substitution of Sarianidi's "temple" and "palace," by the designations "caravanserai" and "market place," see "The Bronze Age of Bactria," 20f. [See also V. I. Sarianidi, "Togolok 21, an Indo-Iranian Temple in the Karakum," *BAI* 4 (1990)—ED.]

32. Kohl, *Central Asia*, 178, 228, 240; C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "The long durée of the Ancient Near East," in *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil, à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris, 1985), 68f.; *idem*, "The Bronze Age of Bactria," 20f.; Tosi, "The Origins of Early Bactrian Civilization," 62f.

33. Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," 223f.; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, figs. 119, 121–25. Sarianidi attributes the stylistic similarities found in a number of these seals to the hand of a single master, *ibid.*, 238.

34. Margiana: V. I. Sarianidi, "Margiana in the Bronze Age," p. 174, fig. 4; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, figs. 104, 123. Compare also the miniature relief from Togolok 21 showing a plastically modelled camel with concentric eye, Sarianidi, "Protozoroastriiskii khram v Margiane," pp. 160–61, fig. 6. *Southern Bactria*: Cursive style and plastic modelling found in the figural representations in the decorations of wax cast, copper-bronze seals of stepped rhomboid shape from Dashli 1, Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," 243f., figs. 17–18; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, figs. 116–17. *Northern Bactria*: For Djarkutan, see Kohl, *Central Asia*, pp. 130, 154–57.

35. The Djarkutan seal, illustrated in this paper as fig. 4, comes from a burial of the Djarkutan period, of Late Bronze northern Bactria, which corresponds with the Gonur phase of Late Bronze Margiana, Kohl, *Central Asia*, pp. 130, 154–57, pl. 17-c.

36. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, p. 286, fig. 142; Amiet, "Antiquities of Bactria and Outer Iran," fig. 16-d.

37. For wing-shaped arms on fantastic beings depicted on Bactrian seals, see Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, figs. 142, 286, top.

38. See above, n. 16. For a more realistic depiction, see the wings of the bird-headed man on the Metropolitan Museum axe, H. Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age, Southeastern Iran, Western Central Asia, and the Indus Valley*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1984), fig. 36.

39. Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age*, fig. 26-b.

40. Collon, *First Impressions*, 134–35. On the contrast between the man-centered subject matter in the art of Mesopotamia and the animal-centered art of ancient Iran, see E. Porada, *Ancient Iran: The Art of Pre-Islamic Times* (London, 1962), 32.

41. Pittman, *Art of the Bronze Age*, 29-a; Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," fig. 1; *idem*, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 282.

42. E. Porada, "Problems of Interpretation in a Cylinder Seal of the Akkad Period from Iran," in *Compte rendu de l'onzième rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Leiden, 1964), pp. 88–93, pl. I-A. See a similar attribute in a more problematic composition on a seal in the Jonathan Rosen collection, *idem*, "Discussion of a Cylinder Seal, Probably from Southeast Iran," pls. I–II. For comparison with representations of snakes in the arts of Elam and Mesopotamia, Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 247; R. D. Barnett, "Homme masqué ou dieu-ibex?" *Syria* 43 (1966), 259–68. For bibliographical references, see K. G. Stevens, "Eine ikonographische Untersuchung der Schlange in vorgeschichteten Mesopotamien," in *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, vol. 1, ed. L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck (Ghent, 1989), 1–32.

43. Sarianidi, "Seal-Amulets of the Murghab-Style," 226.

44. Sarianidi, *Die Kunst des alten Afghanistan*, 226, 241–43.

45. M. Schwartz in *Orientalia* 49 (1980), 123f.

46. P. O. Skjærvø, "Aždahā," in *EIr*, vol. 3.2, p. 191.

47. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1975), 91, *passim*; Skjærvø, "Aždahā," 191–99; Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Aždahā:II," in *EIr*, vol. 3.2, pp. 199–203.

48. A. D. H. Bivar, "The Allegory of Astyages," in *A Green Leaf: Papers in Honor of Professor Jes P. Asmussen* (Leiden, 1988), 514.

49. *Ibid.*; Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 1, pp. 100, 103, 183.

50. J. Russell, "Armenian Aždahak," in *EIr*, vol. 3.2, p. 203.

51. On the depiction of Zōhḥāk in the art of the East Iranian world in the Parthian, Sasanian, and the early Islamic periods, N. V. D'iakonova, "Terrakotovaia figurka Zokhaka," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka gos-*

darstvennogo Ermitazha 3 (Leningrad, 1940), 195–205; *idem*, "'Sakskie' pechaty iz Serindii," *VDI* (1967.2), 175–82; A. M. Belenitskii and V. A. Meshkeris, "Zmei-drakony v drevnem iskusstve Srednei Azii," *SA* (1986.2), 16–27; M. Mode, "Die Gottheit mit dem Drachenschultern," in *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orient-Wissenschaft* (Halle, 1987), 65–81.

A Jataka Tale on a Sasanian Silver Plate

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A Jataka Tale on a Sasanian Silver Plate

G U I T T Y A Z A R P A Y

*The fragrance of the timiras is blown;
the evil sea is full of sound.
Sussondi is far from here.
Tamba, loves torment me.
—Jataka 360*

A great eagle's seizure of a woman is the extraordinary theme depicted on a Sasanian silver-gilt plate, from Russia's Perm region, in the collection of the Hermitage Museum (acc. no. S217), at St. Petersburg (fig. 1). Although rare in Sasanian art, variations on this theme find artistic expression in a number of traditions in the Old and New Worlds from early historic times to the present.

The most familiar versions are perhaps Graeco-Roman portrayals of Ganymede's abduction by the eagle of Zeus (fig. 2) that find even earlier models in representations of the Akkadian myth of Etana, on ancient Near Eastern seals of the third millennium B.C. If the eagle's abduction of Ganymede is seen as a Western revision of the Akkadian motif, an Eastern redaction is surely the Iron Age image of an eagle-borne goddess on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, in northwestern Iran. In Near Eastern folklore and literature, the motif recurs in such fabulous bird rescues as the deliverance of Zal, the abandoned infant, by Simurgh, the mythical bird immortalized in the Persian national epic, the *Shāhnāma*, and the shipwrecked Sinbad's rescue by the giant bird, Rukh, related in a tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*.¹

The aim of this paper is twofold: one, to trace the form of the eagle abduction motif in Sasanian art and two, to explore its meaning with reference to its immediate Graeco-Buddhist prototypes in Gandharan art. The identification of some Gandharan versions of the motif with the text of a particular Buddhist folktale, a jataka of

universal appeal, proposed here, is suggested as a reason for the spread and adaptation of the motif in Iran and in the Eastern Christian world in early Medieval times.

1. The Eagle Abduction Scene on the Hermitage Plate: Form and Meaning

Formal Analysis

The most remarkable feature of the Hermitage plate is its subject matter, which shows a nude female figure, with frontal body represented on a vertical axis and head and limbs in a profile toward the right, held in the claws of a bird of prey spread-eagled axially. The bird, twice the size of the woman, is shown frontally, with its profile head facing left and its tail feathers raised above the groundline. In her right hand the woman raises the small stem of a heaped platter toward the bird's beak, and in her left she seems to grip the bird's left wing. The bird's tail feathers, raised above the groundline as if in upward flight, are approached from either side by a pair of nude, adolescent male figures armed with a bow and an axe, respectively. The youths, who are shown as about half the woman's size, with frontal torsos and heads and limbs in profile, kneel on the rope border that defines the groundline. The groundline and lateral limits of the composition are emphasized by two flowering trees with trunks that emerge directly from

Fig. 1. Sasanian silver-gilt plate found at Cherdyn, the Perm region. Diam. 22 cm, W. 828.6 g. Dated to the late 6th or early 7th century A.D. The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, acc. no. S217. After *Splendeur de Sassanides*, no. 74.



the curved lower border of the composition. The principal scene is encircled by a vegetal scroll border from which grow pomegranates, grapevines, and ornamental flowers, and along which are scattered, clockwise, small images of two dogs and three birds.

The style, place of origin, and date of the Hermitage plate were carefully considered in the 1987 study of K. V. Trever and V. G. Lukonin.² Stylistic, iconographic, and technological considerations led the latter to date the Hermitage plate to the first half of the seventh century. Moreover, these authors associate this and two other decorated silver plates with vegetal scroll borders, also in the Hermitage Museum (acc. nos. S41 and S18), with a class of decorated silver produced in Eastern Iran. Stylistic and technological considerations lead Boris Marshak and Prudence Harper, in a more recent study, also to distinguish these plates (acc. nos. S41, S18, and S217) from those produced in central

Sasanian workshops. Indeed, Harper here identifies the vegetal borders of the type that encircle the main designs on the plate under study as a non-Sasanian feature. Nevertheless, even if these plates are attributed to an East Iranian workshop, their stylistic particulars are generally inspired by the artistic tradition of Sasanian Persia. Indeed, the decoration and anatomical proportions of both the female figure and the eagle on the Hermitage plate find their closest antecedents in Sasanian art, as evidenced in the fourth-century stucco images from the Sasanian manor house at Hājīābād, in Fars (figs. 3, 4).³

Meaning

At the time of its discovery in 1936, the composition on the Hermitage plate was the subject of a thorough comparative study by K. V. Trever, who was the first to analyze its style

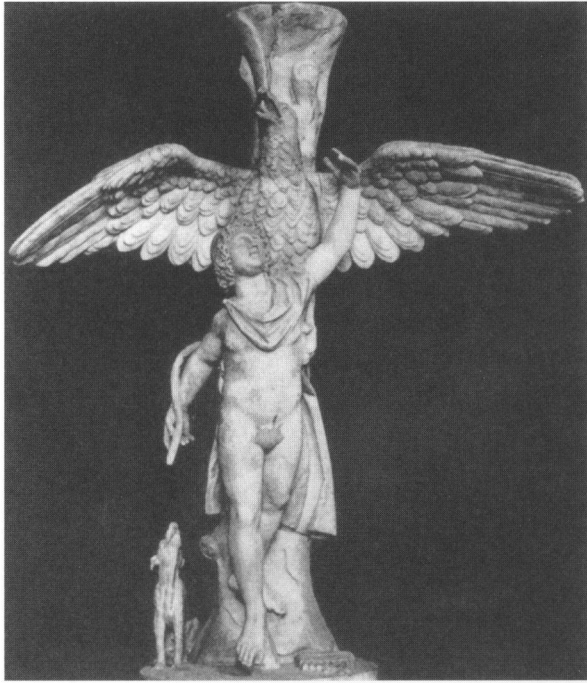


Fig. 2. (Left) Ganymede and the Eagle, Roman copy in marble of a Greek sculptural group. The Vatican Museum, Rome. After Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, fig. 198.

Fig. 4. (Below right) Stucco statuette of a nude woman from the Sasanian site of Hājīābād, Iran, 4th century A.D. H. 61 cm. Iran Melli Museum, Teheran. After Azarnoush, *The Manor House at Hājīābād*, fig. 120.



Fig. 3. (Above) Stucco figure of an eagle with spread wings, from the Sasanian site of Hājīābād, Iran, 4th century A.D. H. 28 cm. Iran Melli Museum, Teheran. After Azarnoush, *The Manor House at Hājīābād*, fig. 130.



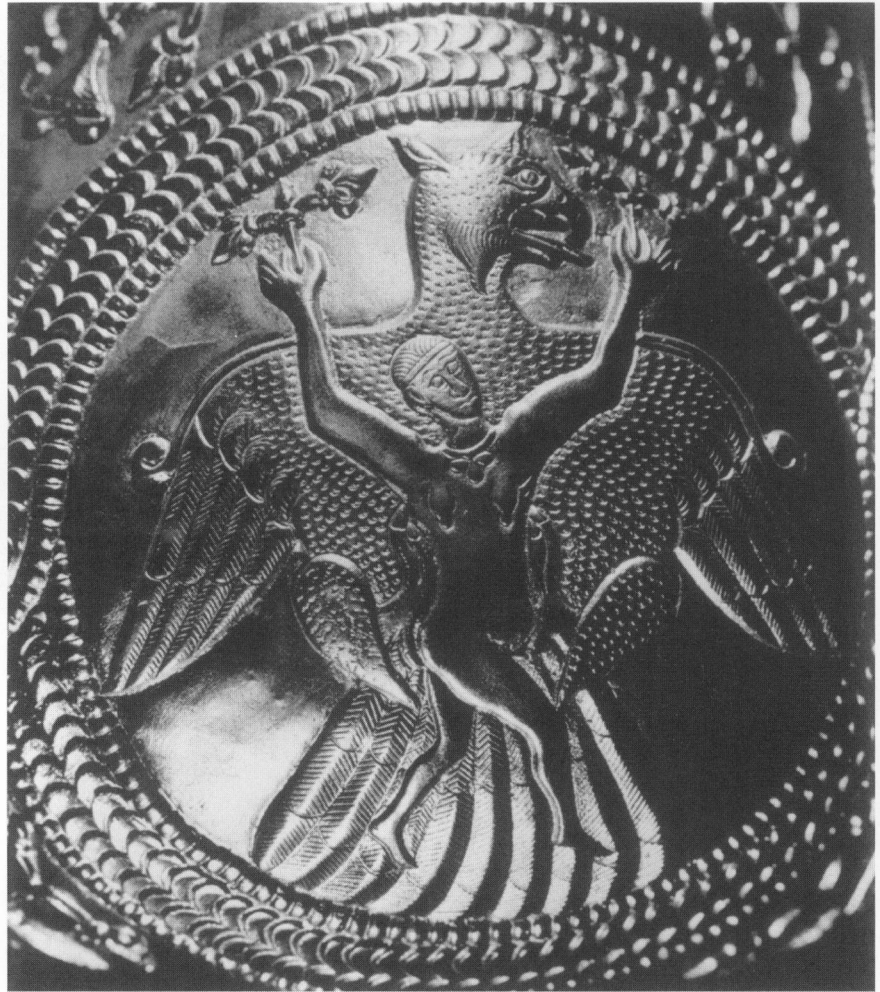


Fig. 5. Seizure of a woman by an eagle, depicted on a gold pitcher (no. 2) from the Nagyszentmiklós treasure, Hungary, 9th to 10th century A.D. The Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. After László, *The Art of the Migration Period*, fig. 150.

and iconography and to propose an interpretation of its meaning. Trever compares the eagle abduction motif with similar motifs in works of art of wide temporal and geographic distribution. These include later adaptations of the motif, exemplified by the eagle abduction of a woman on a ninth- to tenth-century gold pitcher from the Nagyszentmiklós treasure, from Hungary (fig. 5), and other versions such as that on the Quedlinburg shroud, in Berlin, dated to the eleventh-twelfth century. As forerunners of the motif, Trever cites ancient Near Eastern depictions of the Akkadian Etana myth, the Graeco-Roman Ganymede motif, and the Gandharan motif of Garuda's abduction of a nagi, the female personification of the serpent. Finally, Trever interprets the principal scene on the Hermitage plate as a Sasanian Persian version that

makes reference to the Zoroastrian feast of Mithrakana and to Ameretat, the Avestan deity of plants, and, by extension, the vine. Trever sees in the scene a reference also to the Vedic myth of the theft of the divine liquid, Soma (Ir. *haoma*), and its retrieval by Indra-Mithra-Eagle. The two youthful male figures in the composition are identified by Trever with the Asvins, the Vedic divine twins, and with their Avestan counterparts, Haurvatat and Ameretat.⁴

Trever's identification of the nude female figure with the Soma plant is questioned by N. Mavrodinov, in his 1943 study of eagle abduction scenes depicted on two gold pitchers from the Nagyszentmiklós treasure (fig. 5). Mavrodinov notes that since the Soma plant's divine personification is invariably male, the eagle abduction scenes that involve a woman must

refer to the descent from heaven of the Iranian goddess Anahita, as goddess of fruits, flower, harvest, and vintage.⁵

Mavrodinov's interpretation is rejected by András Alföldi in his 1952 study, in which the armed youths in the scene on the Hermitage plate are identified not with the divine twins but with protective guardians who attempt to thwart the abduction. This interpretation is based on comparison with Buddhist paintings from Serindia that show individuals armed with weapons in defense of children abducted by eagle/griffins.⁶ Alföldi sees the Gandharan eagle abduction motif as intermediate between the Graeco-Roman Ganymede motif and later versions, such as that found on the Hermitage plate.⁷

In a 1971 study, the first of two articles on art and religion in the Sasanian period, J. Duchesne-Guillemin interprets the scene on the Hermitage plate by reference to a passage from the Avesta that treats the boatman Paurva, who, in the form of a bird, flies incessantly through the air for three days and nights. Unable to check his flight, Paurva is finally rescued when his prayer is heard by the goddess Anahita, who then guides Paurva's descent to earth.⁸ This interpretation is accepted by Trever and Lukonin in their joint 1987 publication in which they now identify the nude female figure on the Hermitage plate with a personification of Anahita, shown with the eagle/hero, during her descent to earth.⁹ Lukonin explains the two youthful male figures with weapons as a reference to the days and nights of the hero's flight in the context of the Avestan passage. However, in a characteristically insightful way, Lukonin expresses perplexity about the reason for the popularity and illustration of this otherwise obscure Avestan passage in works of art of the Sasanian and post-Sasanian periods.

A subsequent reevaluation of the scene, in a second article on art and religion in the Sasanian period, led Duchesne-Guillemin to revise his earlier views on the scene on the Hermitage plate.¹⁰ Here, Duchesne-Guillemin concurs with Alföldi's rejection of the identification of the woman on the Hermitage plate with Anahita. He sees the woman as a sort of nymph, derived from Hellenistic models. The latter view is prompted by A. D. H. Bivar's study of an eagle abduction motif on a seal from a Punjab col-



Fig. 6. Ganymede and the Eagle, mosaic. Villa at Baccano, near Rome, 3d century A.D. Museo Nazionale, Rome. Photo: After Phillips, "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics," fig. 15.

lection, which Bivar regards as a Hellenistic depiction of the abduction of the nymph Aegina by Zeus in the form of an eagle.¹¹

In a recent study of the eagle abduction scene on the Hermitage plate, Marshak dismisses all conjectures about its meaning, in which he detects an important, but unidentified, myth. Nevertheless, he explains the armed youths as a reference to day and night and ponders a connection between the scene's floral border and the Tree of Many Seeds of ancient Persian mythology.¹² Even this conjecture may be questioned by analogy with late Roman art, where such trees are adopted as mere compositional props in similar compositions. There, the dynamic diagonal flight of the eagle with Ganymede is grounded, creating a static apprehension position, as depicted in a mosaic from a villa at Baccano, outside Rome, dated to the third century A.D. (fig. 6).¹³ Here, where the diagonal flight line is replaced by a vertical one, the shaded, horizontal groundline on which the action takes place is deliberately reinforced by the addition of two flanking trees in precisely the manner



Fig. 7. Garuda's abduction of a woman with two attendants. Fragmentary Gandharan turban emblem in gray schist. H. 17.7 cm. Private collection, Europe. After Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 190 [image reversed; see n. 27].

adopted in the abduction scene on the Hermitage plate. The flanking trees that serve to ground the action avoid the difficulties inherent in the depiction of motion through the substitution of a diagonal flight line for a vertical one (cf. figs. 2, 7). This process is carried even further in the static, cross-shaped composition of the abduction scene on the Hermitage plate (fig. 1).

Although cognizant of the need for a broadened comparative framework, the foregoing stud-

ies are inconclusive in their identification of the meaning of the eagle abduction motif on the Hermitage plate. The connection between the latter and a specific mythological narrative in Sasanian art is complicated by the paucity of illustrations of mythological scenes in that art. In contrast to Indian art of the same period, which depicts mythological subjects in richly detailed and extended narrative formats, reference to myths generally occurs in allegorical or symbolic form in Sasanian art.



Fig. 8. Garuda's abduction of a haloed male, Kizil, Cave 165, dated to the early 7th century A.D. *In situ*, Xinjiang Province, China. After *The grotto art of China*, vol. 2, pl. 177.

2. The Abduction of a Woman by an Eagle: Gandhara and Central Asia

Formal Analysis

Garuda's seizure of a woman occurs in numerous examples of Buddhist art from the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia. The majority is represented by Gandharan sculptural groups in gray schist or slate, measuring from 20 to over 50 cm in height, from sites in northwestern Pakistan and southern Afghanistan, and generally datable to the third through the mid-fifth century A.D. The motif is more rarely found on sealstones and reportedly occurs also in an unpublished mural from a Buddhist establishment at Zar-tepe, near Termez, in Kushan Bactria, present-day Uzbekistan, dated also to the late fourth to the fifth century A.D. A comparable motif, first cited by Albert von Le Coq, is found in a Buddhist cave painting from Kucha, which remains *in situ* in Cave 165 at Kizil, in China's Xinjiang province, dated to the early seventh century. This scene, however, differs from the Gandharan motif in the imagery of Garuda, shown as a double-headed eagle without anthro-

pomorphic features, and in the male gender of the eagle's haloed victim (fig. 8).¹⁴ The motif also occurs in the later Buddhist art, notably in that of Nepal, Tibet, and Mongolia, where it survives into the eighteenth century.

Gandharan sculptural groups that depict Garuda's seizure of a woman are here subdivided into four versions distinguished by the degree of the complexity of compositional elements. The simplest version of the motif is found in miniature compositions (ca. 7–10 cm high) used as turban emblems of Gandharan Bodhisattva images, and occasionally in intaglio on sealstones and on sealings. This version is embellished by the introduction of specific narrative details that recur in the more complex versions of the motif in Gandhara sculptural groups.

The *first version*, the simplest form of the motif, shows a woman held by the waist or hips in the talons of Garuda, whose head is often somewhat anthropomorphized. This form of the motif was first noted in examples represented by sculptural groups from Buddhist monasteries at Sanghao and Nathou, in the Swat region, in present-day Pakistan. In the best-preserved example, from Sanghao, an elaborately dressed and jewelled woman rests languorously on her left



Fig. 9. Left: Garuda's abduction of a woman, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group from the Buddhist monastery at Sanghao, the Swat region, Pakistan. The Delhi Museum. Right: same subject and material, from the nearby Nathou monastery. After Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, fig. 514.

Fig. 10. Drawing of Garuda's abduction of a woman, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group from the Buddhist monastery at Sanghao (above, fig. 9). After Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, fig. 61.

foot as she raises her right hand, which holds the lower end of a snake toward Garuda's beak. Garuda, shown with turban and earrings, grips the snake's neck in his beak and the woman's waist in his talons (fig. 9, left; fig. 10).¹⁵

Other sculptural groups from Sanghao and Nathou constitute more fragmentary or smaller examples, which show the female figure with differing attire and posture (fig. 9, right).¹⁶ In a miniature example of the motif from Sanghao (H. 10.2 cm), in the Lahore Museum (no. 1045), dated by Ingholt to the fourth century, Garuda's beak grips a snake that emerges from behind the woman's head (fig. 11).¹⁷ This example and other

miniature examples of Garuda abduction scenes in gray schist probably functioned as turban emblems used in the headdresses of some Bodhisattva images. Like miniature Buddha images, which also occur as the headdress ornament of Bodhisattva images, the Garuda abduction scene was a symbol that evidently was deemed appropriate as a Bodhisattva's turban emblem.¹⁸ The emblem is found on the turban of some intact Bodhisattva images, as on the standing Bodhisattva from Mekha-Sanda, near Shabaz-Garhi, in the Musée Guimet (acc. no. AO 2907), Paris, dated to the third century or somewhat later (fig. 12).¹⁹ Here, the Garuda abduction scene is



Fig. 11. Garuda's abduction of a woman, Gandharan gray schist fragment, probably a turban emblem from a Bodhisattva image. H. 10.2 cm. From a Buddhist monastery at Sanghao, the Swat region, Pakistan, 4th century A.D. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, fig. 350.

surrounded by the circular folds of the topknot of the turban, which occasionally is further embellished by an ornate headband, placed below the emblem and decorated with symmetrically arranged figures of tritons around a central medallion.²⁰ The presence of tritons at the base of the emblem on the headband also occurs in compositions that depict the submission of nagas to the Buddha.²¹

The first version of the Garuda abduction scene is well documented in larger sculptural groups, such as that in the Australian National Gallery, Canberra (H. 40.6 cm) (fig. 13). Here, Garuda's neck is encircled by the body of a serpent whose hooded head is gripped in the bird's beak. The woman's right hand is raised above her head toward the serpent which she appears to have just released. The woman's crossed legs, languid pose, and upturned head are repeated in another sculptural group in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 14). The volup-

tuously proportioned woman, portrayed with ecstatic expression in the latter group, places her right arm on her chest and rests her left hand on Garuda's talons over her left hip. A similar pose and facial expression are displayed by the abducted woman in a sculptural group (H. 53 cm), in the Tokyo National Gallery (fig. 15). In the Victoria and Albert group (fig. 14), as in the group in the Australian National Gallery (fig. 13), the body of the serpent gripped in Garuda's beak is wrapped around the bird's neck, beyond the woman's reach. Garuda's head is not preserved in the sculptural group in the Tokyo National Gallery. This version of Garuda's abduction of a woman is also found in the glyptic arts of the Indian subcontinent, exemplified by a seal, probably of early Gandharan date, from a collection formerly in Punjab, and by an Indian sealing, inscribed with northern Gupta characters of the fifth century A.D., in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 16).²² In the



Fig. 12. Standing Bodhisattva, detail of Gandharan gray schist image from Shabaz-Garhi, Pakistan. 3d-4th century A.D. Overall H. 120 cm. Musée Guimet, Paris, acc. no. AO 2907. After Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India*, pl. 68.



Fig. 13. Garuda abducting a maiden, Gandharan sculptural group, 3d century A.D. H. 40.6 cm. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. Photo: Courtesy the National Gallery of Australia.



Fig. 14. Garuda and a nagi, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

latter, a relatively late and ornamental version of the motif, Garuda is crowned rather than turbaned.

A search for formal models of the Garuda abduction scene in Graeco-Buddhist art must surely begin with the Graeco-Roman motif of Ganymede's abduction by the eagle of Zeus, painted on the first-century glass goblet from the Kushan treasure from Begram, Afghanistan,

now in the collection of the Musée Guimet, Paris (fig. 17).²³ Ganymede, with Phrygian cap, boots, cape, and loincloth, is here shown swept up diagonally by the eagle. Although the glass goblet may have been produced in Alexandria, its presence in the Begram treasure proves the introduction of the motif to the Indian sub-continent by the first century A.D., or in pre-Gandharan times.²⁴ However, the replacement



Fig. 15. Garuda and Yakshini, Gandharan sculptural group, from the vicinity of Peshawar, Pakistan. H. 53 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Photo: Courtesy the Tokyo National Museum.

of the diagonal flight of the eagle abduction scene, such as that found on the Begram goblet, by a vertical flight line in Gandharan versions of the motif indicates the latter's dependence on later Roman models (cf. figs. 2, 6), where the vertical flight is used to avoid difficulties inherent in the depiction of motion.

The scene of the eagle's abduction of Ganymede is one of two Hellenistic renditions of



Fig. 16. Garuda's abduction of a woman on an Indian clay sealing of the Gupta period, 5th century A.D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 36.622. Photo: Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

the legend of Ganymede in works of art from the Begram treasure. A different rendition of the Ganymede myth, found on a plaster medallion in the Kabul Museum, was evidently disregarded as a formal model in the subsequent Buddhist art of Gandhara. This medallion shows a seated, cup-bearing Ganymede tending an eagle of comparable dimensions. With his right hand, Ganymede here feeds the eagle as he rests his left hand on the eagle's wing.²⁵ The erotic character of the scene is suggested by the small figure of a wingless Eros, shown squatting playfully at the base of the composition.

A *second version* of Garuda's abduction of a woman in Gandharan art is represented by sculptural groups that include one or two additional female figures around the principal abduction scene. The turban emblem of a Bodhisattva, in the Lahore Museum, shows a fragmentary



Fig. 17. Ganymede and the Eagle, painted in enamel colors on a glass goblet from the Begram treasure, Afghanistan. 1st century A.D. Musée Guimet, Paris. Photo: Courtesy Musée Guimet.

Garuda abduction scene that includes a female attendant shown turning from the abduction scene.²⁶ Two attendants flank the protagonist in another sculptural group, probably also a turban emblem of a Bodhisattva image, from a private collection in Europe (fig. 7).²⁷ The principal female figure, in hip girdle and jewelry, raises her left arm toward Garuda's head, and places the right on her chest, a gesture that is also found in examples from the first version of the motif, represented by sculptural groups in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Tokyo National Gallery



Fig. 18. Garuda abducting two nagakanyas, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group. H. 20.7 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, acc. no. 74.127, gift of Dr. Samuel Eilenberg. Photo: Courtesy the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia.

(figs. 14, 15). The head of a large serpent emerges from the back of one of the partially draped secondary figures.

This version of the Garuda abduction motif also appears in a sculptural group in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (fig. 18).²⁸ The principal female figure is shown with the tail of a large snake behind her back, its head gripped in Garuda's beak. She is here flanked by two secondary seated figures, one of whom, a woman shown with her hand placed over her ear, is turned away from the scene; while the second, perhaps a youthful male, reaches for his wrap as



Fig. 19. Garuda's abduction of a woman accompanied by two male guards, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group. H. 33.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bernice Richard Gift 1980.325. Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 20. Garuda's abduction of a woman accompanied by two male guards, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group, said to be from the Sanghao monastery, Pakistan. H. 20.59 cm. Private collection, Japan. After Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 513.

he looks up toward Garuda (see below, the third version of the motif).

A *third version* of the Garuda abduction motif is exemplified by several carefully executed sculptural groups that depict the principal woman flanked by two youthful male figures who brandish weapons as they turn to face the abductor. This version is exemplified by sculptural groups in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and in a private collection in Japan (figs. 19, 20).²⁹ The principal woman in the Metropolitan Museum group, a voluptuous bejewelled figure in hip girdle, looks up at Garuda's head as she gathers her fallen drapery in her left hand (fig. 19). Her right hand falls on her breast in the gesture now familiar from

other versions of the motif noted above (cf. figs. 7, 14, 15). The tail of a hooded serpent held in Garuda's beak emerges through the bird's breast feathers and disappears behind the woman. The youth on the right bends over a coiled rope, as if preparing to lasso the great bird. The sketchier sculptural group in the Japanese collection shows the woman, in a long-sleeved garment, flanked by male youths armed with long swords (fig. 20). Apart from their leaf-shaped skirts, the youths in these sculptural groups are comparable to figures of soldiers, occasionally shown wearing only the loincloth, in Gandharan art.³⁰ The leaf-shaped loincloths of the youths in both sculptural groups identify them with similarly attired tritons and anguipeds in the early Ku-



Fig. 21. Anguiped with leaf-shaped loincloth, carved ivory from the Begram treasure, Afghanistan, 1st century A.D. Kabul Museum. After Mizuno et al., *Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, no. 47.

Fig. 22. Marine deities, Gandharan gray schist stair-riser relief, 2d century A.D. H. 16.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund 1913, 13.96.21. Photo: Courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



shan art of Mathura and Gandhara and, ultimately, with Graeco-Roman models (fig. 21).³¹ Early Gandharan parallels to the fully anthropomorphized youths in leaf-shaped loincloths are represented by images of marine deities such as those depicted on a stair-riser relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 22).³²

The addition of the two youthful male figures to the Garuda abduction scene is not without parallel on Graeco-Roman art. Indeed, the composition finds a formal model in an unconventional version of Ganymede's abduction by the eagle, depicted on a late Etruscan bronze mirror case from Palestrina, in the British



Fig. 23. Ganymede and the Eagle accompanied by two males and a female figure, relief decoration on a bronze mirror case from Palestrina. Late Etruscan, 3d century B.C. Diam. 15.2 cm. The British Museum, acc. no. 726. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

Museum (fig. 23). Here, two males and a female figure, believed to represent Ganymede's brothers and mother, are arranged around the figure of Ganymede as he is apprehended by the eagle. The eagle's wings frame the sides of the circular *emblema* on which the group is depicted in relief. The eagle's claws, covered by Ganymede's cloak, grasp the boy at the hips and lift him vertically off the ground. The other figures back away from the scene with gestures that suggest astonishment. The two male youths wear only necklaces, boots, and cloaks; the boy on the right raises a shepherd's crook in the right hand as he drops on one knee as if under the impact of the attack. The fleeing woman, partially draped

in a *himation*, wears a round necklace similar to those worn by the other figures and cross-bands of incised pendants that are worn only by Ganymede. The linkage between the figures of Ganymede and his male and female companions is here suggested by noteworthy correspondences in their dress and ornament.³³

A version of the Ganymede abduction scene, comparable to that on the emblem on the late Etruscan mirror case, evidently inspired the composition in the more complex versions of the Garuda abduction scene in Gandharan art. The nude, athletic youths who flank the central abduction scene on the mirror case offer close formal prototypes for the youthful male figures in Garuda abduction scenes. Even the shepherd's crook, the *pedum*, held by the youth on the right on the mirror case, may have provided the formula for the weapons carried by the young men in the Gandharan sculptural groups. It is such images of a feminized Ganymede, shown with the elaborate breast ornament worn only by the woman in the scene on the Etruscan mirror case, that doubtless inspired the transformation of the boy into a woman in Gandharan art and its offshoots.

In a *fourth* and most complex version of Garuda's abduction of a woman, pairs of male and female figures surround the protagonists, exemplified by a sculptural group in the Peshawar Museum, dated to the fifth century A.D., and a fragmentary group in the British Museum (figs. 24, 25).³⁴ Garuda, with the serpent's body coiled around his neck, envelops the five human figures in these scenes. One of the secondary female figures is shown on the floor beneath the female protagonist's feet, as another flees to the left. As in the third version of the motif, the youthful males flank the scene and, like protective guardians, brace for combat.

3. Conjectures on the Meaning of the Garuda Abduction Motif in Gandharan Art

The interpretations proposed for the motif of the eagle's seizure of a woman on the Hermitage plate are generally predicated upon the premise of a difference between two allegedly separate adaptations of the Graeco-Roman motif of Gany-



Fig. 24. Garuda's abduction of a woman accompanied by two male guards and two female figures, Gandharan sculptural group, 5th century A.D. H. 19.2 cm. Peshawar Museum, Pakistan, acc. no. 497. After Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, no. 351.



Fig. 25. Garuda's abduction of a woman accompanied by two male guards and two female figures, Gandharan gray schist sculptural group, 5th century A.D. The British Museum, acc. no. 1888.8.62. Photo: Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.

medes' abduction by Zeus in the form of an eagle. These are a "Sasanian" type, found on the Hermitage plate and its offshoots, which show a willing prey, and a Gandharan type, found in Indian and Central Asian art, in which the prey is victimized by the eagle.

The distinction between the "Sasanian" and the Gandharan types of the eagle abduction motif is based on the prevailing interpretation of the Gandharan type as a scene of Garuda's victimization of a nagi, symbolizing the antagonism between bird and serpent that is understood as the opposition of the sun-force against the liquid energy of earthly waters.³⁵ A. K. Coomaraswamy interprets the scene in Gandharan art as something more than the mere opposition of Sun and Serpent, according to which serpents are represented as the natural prey of the solar eagle. Gandharan depictions of a Suparna

or Garuda carrying off a nagi, according to the latter, portray "the rape or rapture by the Sun-bird of a feminine serpent in human form," rather than "a simple opposition of the solar angelic and lunar-titanic powers of light and darkness." The presumption that it is really the serpentine and not the human form of the nagi that the eagle is rending, he notes, is supported by the fact that in these scenes the nagi herself, in her human aspect, seems to cling to rather than shrink from her raptor, who supports her in his grasp. By shedding her ophidian attribute, presumably the snake that emerges from her neck, the purified being emerges. Coomaraswamy further notes that both Ganymede's abduction by Zeus in the form of an eagle and the ecstatic feminine figure in Garuda's clutches "are symbols of the Psyche caught up by and assimilated to the Spirit."³⁶

The definitive interpretation of the Garuda abduction scene in Gandharan art as a generic reference to the Garuda-naga antagonism originates with the eminent Indologist Albert Grünwedel, whose description and reproduction of a drawing of a Gandharan relief from Sanghao, published by him in 1893, has served as the ultimate authority on the meaning of the motif. Grünwedel's text, quoted by Foucher and others, describes the Sanghao relief as "a rather coarsely executed figure, from the back of whose neck, on the best preserved relief, rises a long snake, is borne into the air by a great eagle. The features of this female figure . . . are distorted with pain: the eagle's beak tears at the serpent."³⁷

The Sanghao relief depicted in the drawing published by Grünwedel, and believed by him to be lost, is perhaps the best preserved of several similar reliefs from the same site (fig. 10).³⁸ In photographs of this relief (cf. fig. 9, left), which has since been acquired by the Delhi Museum, the female figure lacks the pained facial expression found in the drawing. Moreover, the raised right hand of the figure appears to hold the tail of a snake, the upper part of which is caught in Garuda's beak. The point of attachment of the serpent's tail to the neck of the female figure, as shown in the drawing, is unclear in the photographs. Grünwedel's interpretation of the Sanghao relief as a scene of Garuda's victimization of the nagi, though hardly justified by the Sanghao relief in Delhi, finds support in the apparently ophidian attribute of the woman in the miniature composition on a turban emblem from Sanghao, now in the Lahore Museum (fig. 11), and in the serpent-tailed nagini that are Garuda's victims in the later Buddhist art of the Indian subcontinent. In the turban emblem from Sanghao, the serpent's body emerges from the back of the woman, according to the formula used for the depiction of nagas in Gandharan art.³⁹

Grünwedel's interpretation of the Garuda abduction scene is repeated and embellished by Foucher, who explains Gandharan eagle abduction scenes as reference to Garuda's intention of devouring his victim.⁴⁰ "This is not merely a consumption," Coomaraswamy adds, "but also an assimilation and incorporation; if the act of solar violence is a rape, it is also a "rapture"

and a "transport" in both possible senses of both words."⁴¹ Foucher offers his thoughts on the differences between the Graeco-Roman models and the Gandharan adaptations of the eagle abduction motif. Not only is the eagle of Zeus disguised as the vehicle of Vishnu, with the addition of turban and earrings, remarks Foucher, but the victim's gracious pose, based on Indian taste and the opulence of Indian forms, belies the violence perpetrated against her. Once stereotyped in Gandharan art, Foucher argues, this motif remains unchanged, not because Garuda scorns eating males but due to his preference for young women, who are more tender. Foucher explains the presence of additional human figures around this central group in some versions of the scene in Gandharan art as a reference to Garuda's additional victims among the race of the nagas.⁴²

Foucher's observations of the eagle abduction motif in Gandharan art are forcefully asserted in Mavrodinov's study of the motif and its manifestation on the Nagyszentmiklós pitcher (fig. 5). While he acknowledges the Graeco-Roman ancestry of the eagle abduction motif in both the "Sasanian" and the Gandharan versions, Mavrodinov, following Foucher, describes the Gandharan eagle abduction scene as a reference to Garuda's victimization of a woman whom he intends to devour.⁴³ Still unchallenged, this interpretation of the Gandharan motif is cited in the most recent study of the scene on the Hermitage plate, which contrasts the Sasanian version, showing the woman feeding the eagle, with the Indian and Central Asian versions, which allegedly depict mistreatment of the woman by the eagle.⁴⁴

4. The Significance of the Motif in Buddhist Art

The Garuda/eagle and naga/serpent struggle, amply symbolized in the art of the Indian subcontinent and its offshoots, is clearly the underlying concept behind the eagle abduction motif in Gandharan art. When used as a Buddhist emblem, as on the turban of Bodhisattva images, the motif is surely a reference to the tenets of the Buddhist religion, such as renunciation of

desire and triumph over sensual pleasure.⁴⁵ However, this generic device is invested with specific meaning when narrative details and expressive nuances embellish and particularize the primary motif. The first and simplest Gandharan version of the Garuda abduction motif clearly bears the traditional talismanic and apotropaic significance of the Garuda and naga struggle in Indian art. This motif may be enriched by nuances of expression and details which lend it narrative specificity, evidenced in Gandhara art, as discussed below, or used strictly as a heraldic device, as in the subsequent Buddhist art of the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia (fig. 16).

In several Gandharan versions of Garuda's abduction of a woman, the generic, apotropaic symbol gains narrative interest through repetition of graphic references to a specific story-content with the following thematic elements. (1) Like the eagle of Zeus who carried off Gany-mede, mindful of the significance of his prize and, therefore, "careful not to let his claws hurt the boy even through his clothes" (Pliny, *NH* 34.89), the woman in the Garuda abduction scenes is clutched gently in the great bird's talon (figs. 2 and 6). All versions represent Garuda's abduction of the woman in a vertical flight line, after late Roman models of the eagle's abduction or apprehension of Ganymede (cf. fig. 6).⁴⁶ (2) Garuda is frequently depicted with turban and earrings and occasionally portrayed with some human facial features. (3) The principal woman is distinguished from secondary female figures by her ornamental jewelry and attire, and by her attentive gestures or enraptured expression. (4) She is associated with ophidian attributes. Serpents are coiled around the bird's neck and gripped in its beak and are sometimes extended by the woman to the great bird. A serpent is attached to the neck of a secondary female figure in one version of the motif. (5) Secondary female figures, when included in the scene, express surprise, fear, or a sleeping state. One such figure is provided with an ophidian attribute. (6) The two youthful male attendants who flank the female figures function as protective guards and brandish weapons as they turn toward the abductor. Their leaf-shaped loin-cloths associate them with tritons, anguipeds, and marine deities in Gandharan art.

Repetition and embellishment of the cited details, in various combinations, in scenes of Garuda's abduction of a woman in Gandharan art suggest the artists' reliance on a specific story content. Like the composition on the late Etruscan mirror cover (fig. 23), where the figures are linked by means of their attributes, the figures in Garuda abduction scenes are interrelated by attributes that place them in an aquatic setting. The human figures share traits with tritons or anthropomorphized marine beings and with nagas or serpents. Garuda's abduction of the principal woman has all the appearances of a surprise attack in a palace setting where the principal woman is surrounded by female companions and youthful male guards. The story's focus is clearly the unexpected abduction of a married and guarded woman by Garuda. The scenario finds an extraordinary textual parallel in the story content of a Buddhist jataka, the *Sussundi-jataka*, no. 360, a fuller variant of the *Kakati-jataka* (no. 327, mentioned also in the *Kunala-jataka*, no. 536), illustrating the fickle nature of woman and preaching renunciation of sensual pleasure and cessation of passion. The moral of the story, that a woman cannot be prevented from having access to other men, is illustrated in these jatakas by recalling an old story told of the betrayal of a Bodhisattva who, in Garuda form, carries away a married woman to his remote palace on an island in mid-ocean. The *Sussundi-jataka*, the more detailed of the two versions, tells the story of a former life of the Buddha when he lived as a young Garuda on Naga Island, which the commentary explains as meaning Seruma Island (identified, in the *Kakati-jataka*, as a palace by Simbali Lake, on Mount Meru, around which the Garuda live). In the *Sussundi-jataka*, the Bodhisattva, in the form of an attractive youth, frequents the palace of the king of Benares in order to play dice with him. There, upon meeting the king's beautiful queen, Sussondi, a passion develops between the two that results in the Bodhisattva's abduction of the queen by supernatural means. He creates wind and darkness to confuse the queen's attendants and, in Garuda form, carries off Sussondi to his island palace.⁴⁷

Full details of this enchanting story are given in the complete text of the *Sussundi-jataka*, offered in the following translation from the

Pali that was kindly provided by Professor K. R. Norman.

5. *Sussondi-jataka*⁴⁸

"The fragrance of timiras is blown," etc. The Teacher, while living in Jetavana, told this story concerning a bhikku who was full of longing (for the world). The Teacher asked if it were true that he longed for the world and, when he was told that it was, asked what he had seen to make him full of longing. When he said that it was finely dressed womenfolk, the Teacher said, "Truly, bhikku, it is not possible to guard womenfolk. Sages of old, although putting them in the abode of Suppanas (= Sanskrit Suparna, often the equivalent of Garuda), and guarding them were unable to guard them." Being requested by him, the Teacher related a story of the past.

Once upon a time King Tamba reigned in Benares, and his chief queen, named Sussondi, was a woman of surpassing beauty. At that time the Bodhisattva was reborn as a young Supanna. At that time Naga Island was known as Seruma Island. The Bodhisattva lived on that island in the palace of the Supannas. He went to Benares in the guise of a young man and played dice with King Tamba. Seeing the perfection of his beauty they said to Sussondi, "A young man of such beauty plays dice with our king." She longed to see him, and one day, dressed in her finery, she came to the dice-chamber. (188) Standing among the attendants, she looked at the young man. He too looked at the queen, and the pair became mutually enamored. The Supanna king, by his supernatural powers, stirred up a wind in the city. The people, from fear of the house falling, went out of the palace. By his power he caused it to be dark, and, taking the queen through the air, he entered his own abode on Naga Island. No one knew of the coming or going of Sussondi. The Supanna took his pleasure with her, and went to play dice with the king. Now the king had a minstrel named Sagga, and, not knowing where the queen had gone, the king addressed the minstrel and urged him: "Go now and explore every path on land and sea, and see where the queen has gone."

He took provisions for his journey, and, beginning from the city gate, in his search he arrived at Bharukaccha. And at that time certain mer-

chants of Bharukaccha were going to the Golden Land by ship. He approached them and said, "I am a minstrel. If you remit my fare, I will make music for you. Take me with you." They agreed to do so, and, putting him on board, they set out. When the ship was going well, they called him and bade him make music for them. He said, "I would make music for you, but if I do so, the fish will leap about and your vessel will be broken. "If a mere mortal," they said, "make music, there will be no leaping about of fish. Play to us." "Then do not be angry with me," he said, and tuning his lute and moderating together the sound of the song and the sound of the lute strings, he made music for them. The fish were maddened at the sound and leaped about. Then a sea monster, leaping up, fell upon the ship and broke it. Lying on a plank and going as the wind took him, Sagga arrived at the Naga Island, near a banyan tree, where the Supanna king lived.

Now Queen Sussondi, whenever the Supanna king went to play dice, came down from her palace (189) and, as she was wandering on the edge of the shore, she saw and recognized the minstrel Sagga and asked him how he had arrived there. He told her the whole story. She comforted him and said, "Do not be afraid," and, embracing him in her arms, she carried him to her palace and laid him on a couch; when he was comforted, she gave him heavenly food, bathed him in heavenly perfumed water, dressed him in heavenly garments, and adorned him with flowers of heavenly perfume, and made him recline upon a heavenly couch. Thus she watched over him, and whenever the Supanna king returned, she hid him, and as soon as the king was gone, under the influence of passion she took her pleasure with him. At the end of a month and a half from that time some merchants who dwelt at Benares landed at the foot of the banyan tree in the island to get wood and water. The minstrel went on board ship with them. On reaching Benares, as soon as he saw the king, who was playing dice, Sagga took his lute and, making music, uttered the first stanza:

- (1) The fragrance of the timiras is blown; the evil sea is full of sound. Sussondi is far from here. Tamba, loves torment me.
On hearing this the Supanna uttered the second stanza:

- (2) How did you cross the sea? How did you see Seruma? How, Sagga, was there union of you and her? (190)
Then Sagga recited three stanzas:
- (3) The ship of merchants who had set out from Bharukaccha seeking wealth was broken by sea monsters; I floated on a plank.
- (4) That noble lady, always smelling of sandalwood, raised me in a soft gentle embrace, as a mother her own son.
- (5) That sultry-eyed one satisfied me with food, drink, clothes, and bed, and even herself. So know, Tamba.

While the minstrel was speaking, the Supanna became regretful and said: "Though I dwelt in the abode of the Supannas, I was unable to guard her. What do I want with this wicked woman?" He brought her back, gave her to the king, and departed. From then on he did not come again.

When the Teacher had finished his lesson, he revealed the truths and identified the birth-story. At that the end of the truths the bhikku, who was full of longing, was established in the fruit of stream-entry. "At that time Ananda was the king, and I myself was the Supanna king."

6. Correspondence Between Text and Artistic Motif

The correspondence between the text of the *Sussondi-jataka* and Garuda's abduction of a woman in many Gandharan sculptural groups is evidenced, in varying degrees, in both the simple and complex versions of the motif. The rapturous expression and languid pose of the abducted woman, in some examples from the first version (cf. figs. 14, 15), relate the latter to similar nuances of expression found in more complex versions of the motif where the principal woman is attended by male guards and secondary female figures (figs. 7, 18). The fearful expressions of the female attendants and the protective postures of the male guards would also seem to imply Garuda's abduction of a guarded woman under circumstances similar to those associated with the Bodhisattva's abduction of Sussondi in the *Sussondi-jataka*.

The text and sculptural imagery differ, however, in notable details. In the latter, the abducted woman is associated with attendants

that have serpent- or triton-like qualities. The abducted woman's attributes include serpents that are devoured by Garuda. The ophidian attributes of the abducted woman and her attendants place the abduction scene, not at Benares, which is the locus of the story in the jataka tale, but in a palace with a marine setting. The discrepancy between the setting of the Garuda abduction in the narrative of the jataka and that suggested by the Gandharan sculptural groups requires explanation. The jataka tales are traditionally placed at Benares in the accompanying commentaries, a fact that may explain a change in venue in the *Sussondi-jataka*. Moreover, the narrative content of the jataka was subject to regional and temporal variations, as indicated by the use of a different version of the *Sussondi-jataka* in the *Kakati-jataka*. Thus, in the version of the tale depicted in Gandharan art, Garuda's abduction of the queen occurs, not at Benares, as indicated in the commentary to the jataka, but seemingly at an island setting that may be identified with the "Naga Island" mentioned in the commentary. However, that Sussondi's home on this Naga Island was different from Garuda's own residence at "Seruma" (possibly an inversion of the order of consonants of "Sumeru," on Mount Meru, in mid-ocean) is perhaps suggested by the otherwise unnecessary explanation linking the two locations in the commentary.

It is noteworthy that the *Sussondi-jataka* and its variant are in fact cited in the search for an explanation of Garuda's abduction of a woman in the translation of Grünwedel's text by Burgess.⁴⁹ Grünwedel, however, evidently preferred the explanation of the motif as a generic reference to Garuda's triumph over a nagi, as personification of the serpent. The explanation of the relief as a scene of Garuda's victimization of a nagi, though hardly justified by particulars of the Sanghao relief in Delhi, is supported by one version of the motif in Gandharan art, a version that survives in the later art of the Indian subcontinent. Here the talismanic significance of the motif is suggested by the snake-flailing Garuda who tears into nagis and anthropomorphized serpents.⁵⁰ However, other Gandharan versions of the motif present more complex compositions that embellish the primary motif with additional details and nuances of expression that impart specific narrative

interest to the otherwise generic theme. In these versions, a narrative layer transforms the generic and apotropaic kernel of the motif into a composition with a story-content that refers specifically to the *Sussondi-jataka*.⁵¹

7. Conclusion

This formal analysis of the eagle's abduction of a woman on the Sasanian silver plate in the Hermitage Museum argues for the derivation of the motif from scenes of Garuda's abduction of a woman in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, dated to the second–fifth centuries A.D. The more complex Gandharan versions, it is argued, embellish the motif's primary generic significance through the addition of a narrative layer that refers to a specific story, identified here with the *Sussondi-jataka*. The *Sussondi-jataka* treats the tale of the mutual attraction between a Bodhisattva and a married, and guarded, woman that results in the latter's abduction by the Bodhisattva in Garuda form. However, a difference in the specific, or regional, meaning of the motif in the Sasanian version is suggested by the attributes of the protagonists. The ophidian attributes of the woman in the Gandharan versions are replaced in the Sasanian composition by the heaped bowl raised as an offering to the great bird by the woman whose precise identity remains uncertain.

In subsequent manifestations of the motif in the West and in the art of the East Christian world, the Gandharan model underwent further modification and reinterpretation. The appearance of the eagle and serpent motif in the art of the Christian East, as explained by Wittkower, represents an adaptation of an early symbol to the exposition of the new faith and a reference to Christ's triumph over Satan.⁵²

The creative transformation in Gandharan art of the traditional Graeco-Roman motif of the boy Ganymede's abduction by the eagle of Zeus into Garuda's abduction of a beautiful woman thus offers an alternate model for the eagle abduction motif in the art of the Middle Ages. Geographical and cultural factors doubtless explain the adoption of the Gandharan model in Sasanian art, whereas both the Graeco-Roman and the Gandharan type occur farther west in the decoration of the gold pitchers from the

Nagyszentmiklós treasure, from Hungary (cf. fig. 5).⁵³ Although we may never know the particular Iranian folktale that perhaps is illustrated in the Sasanian adaptation of the motif, its very use in Iran, and its adaptation in Islamic art and in the Christian East, testify to the spread and universal appeal of an enchanting Buddhist tale and its graphic expression in the art of Gandhara.⁵⁴

Notes

This paper originated in the course of the preparation for a presentation in the *The Art of the Silk Roads* lecture series, which I offered for the Society for Asian Art, the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, in 1994/1995. I am grateful to Betty Hutson and the Board of SAA, who initiated the lecture series, for the opportunity to refocus my research on the arts of the Silk Roads, the great transcontinental highway of the early Middle Ages, which remains a forbidding, and occasionally forbidden, area of study. I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of John Stucky, librarian at the Asian Art Museum, who gave me access to that library's rich holdings of recent Chinese and Japanese publications. I am also grateful for comments and references provided by the following colleagues and graduate students: Professors Martin Schwartz and Wolfgang Heimpel and graduate students Yumiko Nakanishi and Sanjyot Mehendale, at the Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley; Rochelle Kessler, of the Department of South and Southeast Asia, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Mary-Ann Lutzker, Mills College; and Dr. Martha L. Carter. I am especially indebted to Professor K. R. Norman, University of Cambridge, for his comments and for the new translation from the Pali of the *Sussondi-jataka* presented in this paper. I offer this study as a belated contribution to the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute's* volume in honor of Dr. A. David H. Bivar, whose research and teaching relate to the temporal and spatial scope of the present paper.

1. The motif of a woman's abduction by a great bird occurs in a rare example of Sasanian glyptics, exemplified by an impression (19.7 x 19.7 mm) on a bulla that bears another impression with a Pahlavi inscription ("ostandar Verozan"), in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, acquired from a private collection in 1983 (see R. Gyselen, *Catalogue des sceaux, camées et bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre*, vol. 1, Collection Générale [Paris, 1993], nos. 33.1, 14a.1, pp. 201, 206, 233). On the Etana myth, see now P. Steinkeller,

"Early Semitic Literature and Third Millennium Seals with Mythological Motifs," in *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla*, Quaderni di Semitistica 18 (Florence, 1992), pp. 243–75. The motif was revived in the Iron Age, as evidenced in the image of the goddess transported by an eagle depicted on the gold bowl from Hasanlu, in northwestern Iran. See J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Art et religion sous les sassanides," in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Accademia Nazionale de Lincei (Rome, 1971), p. 376; *idem*, "Art and Religion under the Sasanians," in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain, 1974), pp. 149–51; *idem*, "Les interprétations iranistes du vase de Hasanlu," in M. T. Barrelet et al., *Problèmes concernant les Hurrtes*, vol. 2, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Mémoires, no. 49 (Paris, 1984), p. 189; I. Winter, "The 'Hansanlu Gold Bowl': Thirty Years Later," *Expedition* 31.2/3 (1989), pp. 93–95, fig. 6. On the Ganymede motif in Classical antiquity, see H. Sichtermann, *Ganymed, Mythos und Gestalt der antiken Kunst* (Berlin, 1953); "Ganymedes," in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Munich, 1988). On the revival of the motif from the Middle Ages through more recent times, see R. Wittkower, "Roc': An Eastern Prodigy in a Dutch Engraving," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (Boulder, Colo., 1977), pp. 93–96; G. Kempter, *Ganymed: Studien zur Typologie, Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, Dissertationen zur Kunstgeschichte 12 (Cologne, 1980); *idem*, *Der Ganymed-Mythos in Emblematik und mythographischer Literature des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Worms, 1985). On the temporal and spatial distribution of the motif in Asian art and folklore, see A. Alföldi, "Études sur le trésor de Nagyszentmiklós," *Cahiers archéologiques* 6 (1952), pp. 43–53.

2. The silver plate measures 22 cm in diameter, 2.9 cm in height, 0.08–0.21 cm in thickness, and 828.6 grams in weight, with a ring base. Its hammered and chased relief decoration is embellished with a mercury-gilded background. The plate was discovered in the vicinity of Cherdyn, the Perm region, in 1936, and has the inventory number S271 at the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. For discussions of the plate, see K. V. Trever, *Novye sasanidskie bliuda (Nouveaux plats sasanides de l'Ermitage)* (Moscow, 1937), pp. 25–41; K. V. Trever and V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro: Khudozhestvennaia kul'tura Irana III–VIII vekov*, *Sobranie Gosudartsvennogo Ermitazha* (Moscow, 1987), cat. no. 22, pp. 89–90, 113–14, 136, 137–38. A similar vegetal scroll border encircles the figure of a tigress and that of a pheasant on Hermitage plates acc. nos. S41 and S18, respectively, see Trever and Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro*, nos. 23 and 24, pp. 89–90, 113–14, 136, 147–48. Chemical analysis of all three plates (S217, S41, S18) suggests their attribution to Trever and Lukonin's Groups 2 and 3, *ibid.*, pp. 129–36. Whereas Group 2

includes the largest number of vessels with images of kings comparable to Sasanian coin portraits, the imagery in Group 3 shows few strictly Sasanian features and is attributed to East Iranian workshops.

3. *Splendeur des Sassanides: L'empire perse entre Rome et Chine [224–642]*, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Brussels, 1993), cat. nos. 67, 69 and 74, pp. 101, 224. Boris Marshak compares the style of rendition of the images and the filling of space in these two plates with the technique of embroidery, *ibid.*, p. 214. The date proposed for these plates by Marshak and Prudence Harper, A.D. late sixth century or the first half of the seventh, agrees with that proposed earlier by Trever and Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro*, pp. 113–14. For the stucco images from Hāji-ābād, see M. Azarnoush, *The Sasanian Manor House at Hājiābād, Iran* (Florence, 1994), pp. 124–25, 129–30. The proportions of the female figure on the Hermitage plate S217 are unlike those of female figures in abduction scenes in Gandharan art and in the medieval art of the West, but correspond with the ideal type in Sasanian art and its antecedents in the ancient Near East, see N. Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós*, *Archaeologia Hungarica* 29 (Budapest, 1943), p. 99; B. Goldman, "Women's Robes: The Achaemenid Era," *BAI* 5 (1991), pp. 95–96; G. Azarpay, "Designing the Body: Human Proportions in Achaemenid Art," *IA* 29 (1994), pp. 183–84.

4. Trever, *Novye sasanidskie bliuda*, pp. 25–41. On the earliest references to the celebration of the Zoroastrian festival of Mithrakana, the chief holiday of the Zoroastrian calendar, celebrated on the day Mithra of the month Mithra, see M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3, *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1991), p. 260.

5. Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare*, p. 98. For an overview of the literature on this treasure, see A. Grabar, "Quelques observations sur le Trésor de Nagy Szent Miklos," *CRAI* (1968), pp. 251–61. For reproductions of the details of the gold pitchers, see G. László, *The Art of the Migration Period* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1940), figs. 150–51.

6. A. Alföldi, "Études sur le trésor de Nagyszentmiklós," pp. 44–49.

7. Alföldi refers to a ninth-century Buddhist painting, from Sangim, that shows the lassoing of a predatory bird that has carried off an infant, *ibid.*, p. 44. On the latter, see A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 25–26, fig. 151.

8. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Art et religion sous les sassanides," in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, p. 379.

9. Trever and Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro*, pp. 89–90, 136–37. For a reinterpretation of Aban Yasht XVI, now see P. Thieme, "Wurzel Yat in Veda und Avesta (Nebst einem Exkurs über eine altiranische

[altindische?] Analogie zum zweiten Abenteuer Sinbads, des Seefahrers),” in *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, vol. 3, ActIr 6 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 348–54.

10. Duchesne-Guillemin, “Art and Religion under the Sasanians,” in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, pp. 149–51.

11. A. D. H. Bivar, “An Unknown Punjab Seal-Collector,” *JNSI* (1961), pp. 316–17, pl. VII-7. Bivar identifies the motif on the face of the ring-bezel with the abduction of the nymph Aegina by Zeus in the form of an eagle, known from Hellenistic glyptics. While the poor quality of the illustration in Bivar’s article does not permit close study of the composition of the seal, Bivar’s description of it fits closely the format and details of the eagle abduction motif in Gandharan art. Especially significant is “the rope-like object which passes up from the girl’s shoulders, behind the eagle’s neck, and a portion of which is apparently held in the bird’s beak. It terminates in a thickened protuberance near the edge of the impression . . .,” which clearly compares with the serpent which the woman raises toward Garuda in Gandharan sculptural groups (see below).

12. *Splendeur de Sassanides*, p. 224. In Persian mythology, the great Saen bird, the later *Senmurv/Simurgh*, lives in the branches of this tree, and when it flutters its wings, the branches of the tree are broken, scattering its seeds which regenerate on earth, see J. Hinnells, *Persian Mythology* (New York, 1985), p. 22.

13. K. M. Phillips, “Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics: A Ganymede Mosaic from Sicily,” *The Art Bulletin* (1960), pp. 256–57. On the original Greek pictorial model of the theme, see pp. 260–62.

14. The Gandharan sculptural groups that depict the Garuda abduction scene, cited here, represent only those that have come to my attention through perusal of sources available to me. This corpus is by no means comprehensive and may be substantially enriched by the addition of other examples of the motif that doubtless exist in museums and private collections. For the motif on Gandharan and Gupta sealstones, see Bivar, “An Unknown Punjab Seal-Collector,” pp. 316–19, pl. VII-7, which offers a formal model in intaglio for the Gupta version discussed by A. K. Coomaraswamy, “The Rape of a Nagi: An Indian Gupta Seal,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* [Boston] 35 (1937), nos. 209–10, pp. 38–41, 56–57. For the occurrence of the motif of Garuda’s abduction of a woman, in the mural from Zar-tepe, in Kushan Bactria, see M. A. Reyntova, “Zhivopis’ Zar-tepa” (The painting of Zar-tepe), *IMKU*, no. 20 (1986), pp. 193–97; S. R. Pidaev, “Une image de Garuda dans l’art de la Bactriane Kushane,” in “Histoire et cultes de l’Asie centrale préislamique: Sources écrites et documents

archéologiques” (UNESCO colloquium, Paris, 22–28 November 1988), abstracts, pp. 84–86.

The Gandharan eagle abduction motif is identified by Albert von Le Coq with a Garuda abduction scene in a Serindian cave painting, from a Kizil grotto at Kucha. The Kizil painting was discovered by Le Coq in the triangular corner of the false lantern roof, in the Coffered Cave (Grünwedel’s “Kassetten-Höhle,” now numbered as Kizil Cave no. 165), datable to the first half of the seventh century, see *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, p. 25, fig. 150. Le Coq’s unclear illustration of this image, photographed *in situ*, has since been published in color in *The grotto art of China: The Kizil grottoes (Kijiru Sekkutsu)*, compiled and edited by the Supervisory Committee for Cultural Relics of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and the Kizil Grottoes Depository for Cultural Relics (Tokyo, 1984), (in Japanese), vol. 2, p. 280, pl. 177. I wish to thank Yumiko Nakanishi for providing me with a translation of the appropriate passages in this text. This scene, like Garuda’s abduction of an ape, found in another painting from Kizil, evidently differs in meaning from Garuda’s abduction of a woman in Gandharan art. For the ape abduction scene, see A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan* (Berlin, 1912), fig. 240; *The grotto art of China*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*

15. A. Foucher, *L’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: Étude sur les origines de l’influence classique dans l’art bouddhique de l’Inde et de l’Extrême-Orient* (Paris, 1918), vol. 2, fig. 318, illustrates a photograph of this sculptural group from Sanghao, with the woman’s head shown in three-quarter view, reproduced from H. H. Cole, *Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusofzai, With a Description of the Excavations undertaken from the 4th February to the 16th April 1883, and Suggestions for the Disposal of Sculptures* (n.p., 1883), pl. 21. Cole here notes that the theme on the Sanghao relief occurs in another, fragmentary, relief and on a small knob (probably a turban emblem), from the same area at Sanghao, and on a fragment from the upper monastery at Nathou. A photograph of the Sanghao relief is also reproduced in I. Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, *The World of the Buddha* (Tokyo, 1990), fig. 514 (without indication of its dimensions). Cole’s drawing is reproduced in A. Grünwedel’s *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien: Handbücher der königlichen Museen zu Berlin mit Abbildungen* (Berlin, 1893), fig. 34; *idem*, *Buddhist Art in India*, trans. A. C. Gibson, rev. and enlarged by J. Burgess (London, 1901), fig. 61.

16. For the Nathou group, see Foucher, *L’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, vol. 2, fig. 319; J. Burgess, *The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, vol. 1 (London, 1897), pl. 113; Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, fig. 514.

17. For the example in the Lahore Museum (no. 1045), see H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan* (New York, 1957), no. 350, p. 149. The chronology of Gandharan sculpture followed here is based on Ingholt's classification of Groups I-IV, dated to the second-fifth centuries A.D., *ibid.*, pp. 25-41, with reference to H. C. Ackermann's comparative chronology based on Roman art, in *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London* (Rome, 1975).

18. See a gray schist turban emblem (H. 7 cm), in a private collection, in Japan, Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, fig. 186; a gray schist turban emblem from Takht-i-Bahai, in the Peshawar Museum (no. 1099), F. Tissot, *Gandhāra* (Paris, 1985), pl. XXIX-6; emblem in a private collection in London, Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 170. For the use of the Buddha image as a turban emblem, *idem*, *Gandharān Art*, vol. 2, figs. 169-74.

19. The Bodhisattva image, with an overall height of 120 cm, in the Musée Guimet, acc. no. AO 2907, is discussed by M. Hallade and H. Hinz, *Gandharan Art of North India and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition of India, Persia, and Central Asia* (New York, 1968), p. 93, pl. 86; and fully illustrated in Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 7.

20. Hallade describes the coiffure as having two or three folds fixed in front with a cabochon dominated by a cockade of material held in place by the emblem, see Hallade and Hinz, *Gandharan Art of North India*, pp. 93-94. For a drawing, see Tissot, *Gandhāra*, pl. XXXI-1.

21. Thus by comparison, the juxtaposition of tritons and the emblem showing Garuda's abduction of the nagi is perhaps to be seen as reference to the future Buddha's triumph over the nagi, as a symbol of desire. For Gandharan images of nagas' submission to the Buddha, see Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs*, pls. XXXVIII-b, XLVI, XLVII-a, LXX.

22. See above, n. 14.

23. O. Kurz, "Begram et l'occident Gréco-Romain," in J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA, vol. 11 (Paris, 1954), no. 60, pp. 103-4, fig. 265.

24. Phillips, "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics," pp. 258-59, figs. 16-19. On the earliest Greek pictorial versions of the motif, and the controversy about the date of the Greek original of the Vatican sculptural group depicting Ganymede and the Eagle, *ibid.*, p. 260.

25. Kabul Museum no. 57.156, Diam. 12.8 cm, *ibid.*, no. 96, fig. 296, pp. 123-26. Kurz compares this motif to a mural from the Stabiae showing Ganymede with Eros astride the eagle. A second plaster medalion from Begram (*ibid.*, no. 128, fig. 293, p. 122), showing a bearded man before an altar who is feeding

a small eagle perched on a tree, is here thought to represent a person other than Ganymede. This is one of several plaster emblemata from Begram, dated to the first century or earlier, that reproduce themes of late Hellenistic metalwork. The delicacy of the modelling of the soft, sensuous forms in these plaster medallions, believed to have been facsimiles of Greek silverware, is contrasted by Rowland with dry and mechanical Roman versions of the same themes, see B. Rowland, in S. Mizuno et al., *Ancient Art of Afghanistan* (Tokyo, 1964), pp. 211-12; B. Rowland, *Art in Afghanistan: Objects from the Kabul Museum* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1971), no. 99.

26. Cf. the gray schist head of a Bodhisattva in the Lahore Museum (H. 38 cm, W. 22 cm; old no. 2375, new no. G-172), published in *The Exhibition of Gandharan Art of Pakistan*, Seibu Museum of Art, catalog no. I-4 (Tokyo, 1984) also in F. Tissot, *The Art of Gandhāra: Buddhist Monks' Art, on the North-West frontier of Pakistan* (Paris, 1986), fig. 181, and Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 172.

27. The illustration of this gray schist group (H. 14.5 cm) is evidently reversed in one of the two sources that publish it, cf. Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 190, and *The Yamato Bunkakan Museum Catalogue* (Nara, 1985), no. 10. The latter places the piece in a private collection in Japan, whereas Kurita places it in a European collection.

28. The schist group in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, (H. 20.7 cm) is published in S. D. Nagar, *Gandhāran Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia* (Missouri, 1981), pp. 40-41. I wish to thank Dr. Mary-Ann Lutzker for bringing this example to my attention.

29. For the Metropolitan Museum group (H. 33.3 cm), see S. J. Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1985), no. 95. I wish to thank Rochelle Kessler, of the Department of Asian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art for the photograph of the Metropolitan Museum group. For the group in the private collection in Japan, said to be from Sanghao (H. 20.50 cm), see Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. 2, no. 513.

30. Cf. soldiers from the host of Mara, in B. Rowland, *Gandhara Sculpture from Pakistan Museums* (New York, 1960), p. 30; Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs*, pl. XL.

31. For the leaf-shaped loincloth in the art of the Indian subcontinent, see P. Stern, "Les ivoires et os découverts à Begram," in Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, pp. 30-32, figs. 521-25; Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, no. 395; H.-P. Francfort, *Les palettes du Gandhāra*, MDAFA, vol. 23

(Paris, 1979), pl. XXV-49. For Graeco-Roman prototypes, cf. the triton from the Great Frieze of the Pergamon Altar, from the mid-second century B.C., *The Masterpieces of the Pergamon and Bode Museum*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Mainz, 1993), p. 73, fig. 1-a. For parallel images in the minor arts, cf. a bronze plaque, E. Babelon and J. A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1895), no. 68; floor mosaic from Gerasa, C. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos* (Ithaca, 1995), fig. 137.

32. The relief is assigned to Ingholt's Group I, dated to the second century A.D., Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pp. 26–27.

33. Photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum. Diam. 15.2 cm. For a discussion of this object, see H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1899), no. 726, p. 125, dated here to the third century B.C.

34. For the group in the Peshawar Museum, acc. no. 497, H. 19.2 cm, see Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, no. 351 (Ingholt assigns it to Group IV, dated to the fifth century A.D.). For the fragmentary group in the British Museum, see Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, p. 37, fig. 321.

35. For a functional analysis of the eagle and serpent struggle in different historical settings, see R. Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent," in *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols* (Boulder, Colo., 1977), pp. 16–44. Despite regional variations in the specific meaning of the eagle and serpent struggle, Wittkower sees the basic idea as the fundamental opposition of light and darkness, good and evil, *ibid.*, p. 26. On the bird and serpent struggle in Indian mythology, see also H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* (Princeton, repr. 1992), pp. 72–76.

36. Coomaraswamy, "The Rape of a Nāgi," nos. 209–10, pp. 38–39; *idem*, in Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, see note, p. 76; *idem*, "Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology," *JAOS* 55 (1935), p. 419. Cf. M.-Th. Picard-Schmitter's comment, in reference to the Ascension motif, of the type found on the eleventh-century Saljuq textiles from the Naqqarkhana of Ray, that the eagle's claws were for use against terrestrial, and hence demoniac, forces that hinder the spirit's escape from the body, see "Scènes d'apothéose sur des soieries provenant de Ray," *ArtAs* 14 (1951), p. 341.

37. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 109–10, fig. 61 (see n. 15, above). Grünwedel's explanation is accepted by V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), p. 119, and by Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*,

vol. 2, p. 37, and subsequently repeated in sources that treat the Gandharan examples. Grünwedel's explanation is also quoted by E. Herzfeld, "Der Thron von Khosro," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 57.4 (1936), p. 135, and accepted by Trever, *Novye sasanidskie bliuda*, pp. 29–30, and others (see below, nn. 43–44). Exceptionally, Alföldi relates the eagle abduction motif on the Hermitage plate and its offshoots to Gandharan models, yet he too adopts Grünwedel's interpretation of the Sanghao relief as Garuda's victimization of a nāgi, see "Études sur le trésor de Nagyszentmiklós," pp. 44–45.

38. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, fig. 61, p. 109, n. 2. The drawing is after Cole, *Memorandum on Ancient Monuments in Eusofzai*, pl. 21.

39. Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs*, pls. VI-b, XX-b.

40. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, pp. 37–38.

41. Coomaraswamy, "The Rape of a Nāgi," p. 41.

42. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, pp. 38–39.

43. Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare*, p. 95.

44. B. Marshak, in *Splendeur des Sassanides*, cat. no. 74, p. 224.

45. See above, n. 18.

46. For a discussion of the lost group of Ganymede with the eagle of Zeus of Leochares, the Greek sculptor of the fourth century B.C., and Roman copies of the group, such as a statuette in the Vatican (Galleria dei Candelabri, no. 118), see M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, rev. ed. (New York, 1981), pp. 62–63, fig. 198. For the ultimate Greek prototype of the eagle abduction scene, see Phillips, "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics," pp. 260–62.

47. The commentary to both the *Sussondi-* and *Kakati-jatakas* begins by quoting the catchword, "the fragrance of the timira flowers," the first words of the verse (*gāthā*) in each of the two jatakas. The moral of the story in the *Sussondi-* and *Kakati-jatakas* addresses the passionate longing for women that distracts a disciple during the course of his meditation on the thought of the Buddha. The lesson of the story is stated to be a revelation that serves to direct the wayward disciple along the true path toward enlightenment. The disloyalty, ingratitude, and immorality of women is the subject of a number of other jatakas, cf. *Kunala* (no. 536) and *Samugga* (no. 436). The latter, a tale of the demon who failed to keep his wife virtuous, even after he swallowed her, and carried her about in his belly, illustrates the ludicrous length to which husbands resort to limit access to their wives. The low opinion of women implied in these stories, reflects not only the prevailing notions of the time but also the Buddhist's ascetic

doctrine that preached renunciation of sensual pleasure. Here, as in other birth-stories, the jatakas illustrate Buddhist doctrines and precepts by appropriate example through the use of popular fables and folklore. The stories begin with a particular circumstance in the life of the Buddha which lead him to relate a birth-story and thus to reveal an event in one of his previous existences as a Bodhisattva, a being destined to attain Buddhahood. Each story is illustrated by the moral related in verse (*gāthā*), uttered by the future Buddha, in a more archaic language than that of the commentary. The prose commentary is evidently a redaction of earlier material, translated into Pali in the fifth century. See E. B. Cowell, *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births: Translated from the Pāli by Various Hands*, vols. 1–4 (1895; repr. London, 1973). For an extended parable on the wiles of women, see *ibid.*, p. V, *Kunala-jataka*, no. 536, and with reference to the *Kakati-jataka*.

48. K. R. Norman comments that the story does not entirely fit with the verses: verse 1 mentions timira flowers, which do not appear in the story. The commentary explains that these were all around the banyan tree (where the Supanna lived). Verse 2 asks Sagga how he reached Seruma. The story has to have an explanation that Naga Island was called Seruma Island at that time, and the commentary explains that Seruma means Seruma Island. Verse 3 states that the boat was broken by sea monsters. The story states that it was one sea monster. There is a problem with the root *rakkh-*, which means both “guard,” i.e., “watch over,” and “guard against.” In the first paragraph, Cowell twice translates it as “being on one’s guard against,” but at the end of the story as “failed to guard her safety.” It is possible that this is correct, but I have translated the word in both places as “guard,” although there is some tautology in the phrase “guarding them (carefully) were unable to guard them (completely).” I have translated in this way because in other stories there are references to the lengths to which husbands go to prevent their wives from having access to other men, or other men having access to their wives. I presume that the bhikku was able to see finely dressed womenfolk because their husbands had not guarded them carefully enough. (I wish to thank Professor Norman for kindly providing me with this new translation of this text and for his considered comments.)

49. Grünwedel’s *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, pp. 97–98. *Idem*, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 109, n. 3. In his interpretation of the relief from Sanghao as a depiction of Garuda’s carrying off of a nagi, Grünwedel notes the existence of Buddhist legends of such

acts, without making mention of any specific jatakas. In the translation of Grünwedel’s book, Burgess adds a reference to the jatakas, among which, he notes, there are “two or three that speak of the Garuda king carrying off a beautiful queen from her husband,” and cites jatakas nos. 327, 360, and 536. Therefore, it is unclear whether Grünwedel himself had these same jatakas in mind.

50. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 48–52; *idem*, *Alt buddhistische Kunststätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (Berlin 1912), *passim*.

51. As in other instances in the history of art, when used in isolation, the symbol relates directly to the viewer in an apotropaic sense. However, when enriched with narrative detail, the symbol acquires specificity within that context. The same symbol may also be used as a purely ornamental device, as evidenced in the Garuda abduction scene on the Gupta sealing in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 16), cf. Wittkower, “Eagle and Serpent,” p. 28.

52. Moreover, the direct Indian model (represented by Garuda’s struggle with the serpent) for the tale of the struggle between the serpent and the fabulous bird of the Orient, as related in the Beatus manuscripts of the tenth to twelfth centuries, is all the more plausible in light of the identification of the Gandharan motif with the *Sussondi-jataka*. The abduction of Sussondi by the Bodhisattva in Garuda form, related in the jataka, was undertaken during a windstorm and under cover of darkness, miraculously brought about by the Bodhisattva. Similarly Christ, as related in the Beatus manuscripts, like the bird of the East who concealed himself with dust in his struggle with the serpent, envelopes himself with the dirt of flesh in order to deceive the godless deceiver with pious fraud. See Wittkower, “Eagle and Serpent,” pp. 31, 37.

53. Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare*, see nos. 2 and 7. Whereas the Gandharan model is recalled on the gold ewer no. 2, which shows a woman bearing branches in her raised arms as she is carried away by the eagle, the second ewer, no. 7, shows two examples of a male figure who, like Ganymede, the cupbearer of Zeus, raises a cup to the eagle’s beak.

54. For Islamic adaptations of the motif, see Picard-Schmitter, “Scènes d’apothéose sur des soieries provenant de Raiy,” pp. 306–41; D. Thompson, “Abrišam, silk,” *Elr*, vol. 1, pp. 243–44. For the ascension motif in the art of the European Middle Ages, see V. M. Schmidt, *A Legend and Its Image: The Aerial Flight of Alexander the Great in Medieval Art* (Groningen, 1995).

The Sasanian Complex at Bandian: Palace or Dynastic Shrine

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Shorter Notices

The Sasanian Complex at Bandian: Palace or Dynastic Shrine

The recent excavations at Bandian offer a unique picture of the monumental architecture, art, and cult practices of a provincial seat of Persian administration in northeastern Iran in the Sasanian period (A.D. 224–642). Bandian is situated in an area of cultivated fields in the Khavaran plain of northern Khorasan, some 3 km northwest of the small town of Darregaz and ca. 100 km southeast of the earliest Parthian capital city, Nisa, in present-day Turkmenistan. The site is distinguished by three small *tepes*, one of which, a protohistoric mound (Yarim-tepe), was studied in 1966 by Dr. Ezat Negahban and his team of archaeology students from the University of Tehran. The chance discovery in 1990 of carved plaster reliefs of the Sasanian period on the central mound at Bandian prompted exploration of the site in 1994, which was followed by seasons of excavations by Mehdi Rahbar under the auspices of Iran's Cultural Heritage Organization. (A comprehensive and fully illustrated report of the excavations at Bandian, by Mehdi Rahbar, is to appear in a forthcoming issue of *Studia Iranica*. The Pahlavi inscriptions from the site, originally published by R. Bashshash Kanzaq, will be there treated in an article by Philippe Gignoux.)¹

The nucleus of the Sasanian complex is a four-columned rectangular hall, 10.25 x 8.60 m, open on the northeast and surrounded on three sides by walls faced on the inside with stucco reliefs (figs. 1, 2). On the south, west, and north walls, framed compositions preserved to a height of .70 to .80 cm depict, from left to right, scenes showing a hunt, battle, victory, performance of a

ritual, investiture, and banquet (fig. 2). Much of the upper torso and the head of the figures in these scenes has perished; heads are preserved only in images of decapitated persons and in depictions of victims who have fallen in battle. As on column shafts, an overall pattern of acanthus leaves and knotted ribbons decorates the upper surfaces of the walls. In a recessed niche in the northwest corner of the hall (2.82 x 1.70 m) are images of a fire altar tended by three personages. Four of the five Pahlavi inscriptions, carved in wet plaster on the reliefs from the great hall, accompany scenes depicted in this corner niche. The most notable revelation during the 1997 excavation season was the discovery of an axial cell that houses a high terra-cotta fire altar (over 1 m in height and diameter) that is visible through the entrance on the back wall of the great hall. Placed on a three-stepped base, the hourglass-shaped fire altar, like the image of the altar pictured in the relief from the corner niche in the great hall, is decorated with a pleated drapery pattern gathered and tied in the middle with ribbons. Adjacent to the great hall, and entered from a doorway on the wall to the west of the niche, is a small room (3.60 x 3.60 m) used for storage of archives, as attested by the discovery there of a number of bullae bearing impressions of Sasanian seals. Of special interest are numerous terra-cotta ossuaries uncovered in a room beyond the great hall and its adjacent cells.

The central mound at Bandian rises to a maximum height of 2.5 m above the cultivated fields. Soundings and excavations of the great hall testify to four occupation levels, the earliest of which dates to either the Parthian or the Sasanian period. To this level dates a recess (.84 x .82 m, with a depth of 1.60 m) cut into the floor



Fig. 1. The great hall of the Sasanian complex at Bandian, showing the central columns and floor recess from the entrance to the cell on the back wall.

of what became a great hall in the subsequent building phase. Both the great hall and its adjacent rooms evidently date from the second construction phase. The walls were built of *pisé*, or superimposed clay layers, about .50 to .60 m in thickness; in the great hall, they were coated with plaster and embellished with decorative and pictorial reliefs carved in stucco. The roof of the great hall, presumably some 4 m above the floor, was supported on thick lateral walls (1.45 to 1.70 m) and four large conglomerate plaster columns encased in plaster. Each column originally was embellished with decorative stuccoes above a smooth lower shaft that rises from an onion-shaped torus placed over a three-stepped square base (fig. 1). Since no trace of the roofing material remains, M. Rahbar suggests that the complex was abandoned deliberately at the end of this period.

In the third construction phase, repairs were made to the complex, which appears to have declined rapidly after being abandoned, and baked brick (40 x 40 x 10 cm) was used to raise the floor of the great hall. In the fourth and final phase of construction, the walls of the great hall and its adjacent rooms were leveled to a height of 1.50 m and replaced by other structures. Large fragments of decorated stucco that had embellished the columns of the great hall up to a height of 1 m were found in the debris used as filler. The bricks used in the wall built in the northern part of the complex in this fourth phase had the same dimensions as those used in the third building phase. The intact objects recovered at the site comprise only seals and seal impressions uncovered in Room 2009, off the back wall of the great hall, and a few arrowheads, spindle whorls, and a ceramic cooking pot found on

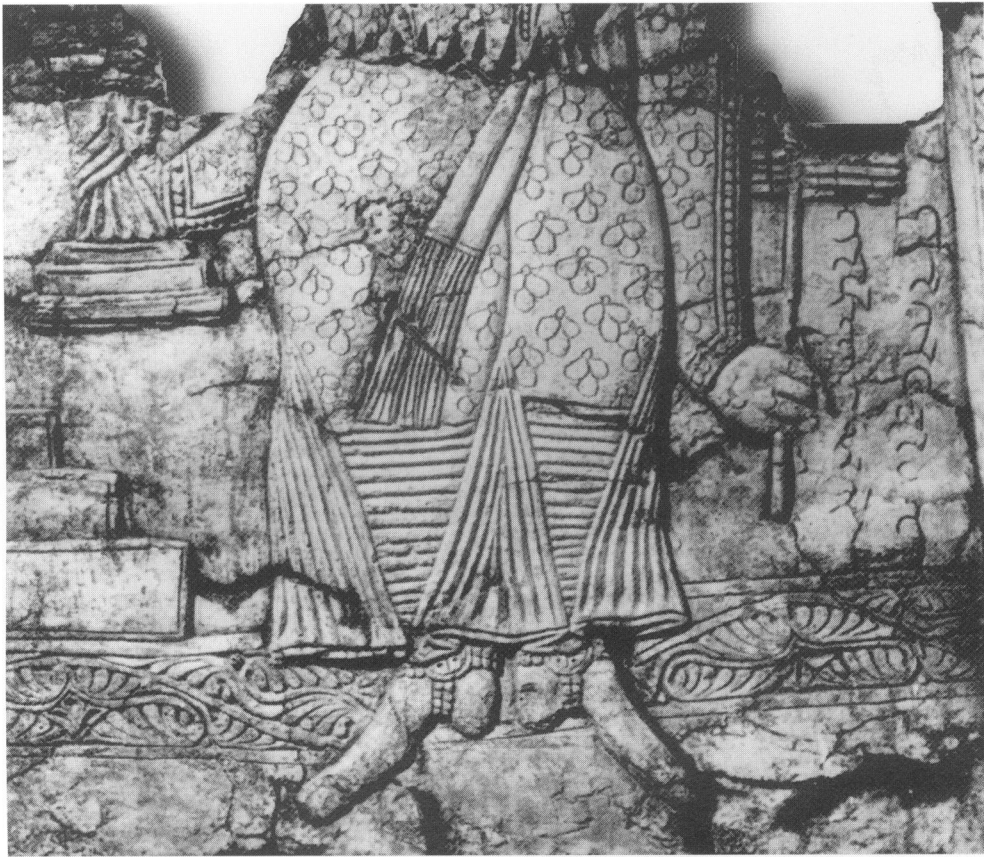


Fig. 2. Detail of a stucco relief from the wall of the great hall at the Sasanian palace at Bandian.

the floor of room 1006. The site appears to have been abandoned voluntarily after removal of its contents. The ultimate destruction of the complex occurred at the end of the Sasanian period.

Chronology, Function, and Meaning

As noted above, the area of the great hall was occupied during four periods. While definitive dates for these periods await completion of scientific tests, if the tetrastyle great hall, with its stucco decoration, is dated to the first half of the fifth century, as suggested by archaeological and possibly epigraphic evidence, it is necessary to associate its construction and subsequent rebuilding with a turbulent period of social and political upheaval in Iran and Transoxiana when the Hephthalites, the last wave of Iranian nomads

from Central Asia, mixed with Huns, became a dominant force in Central Asia. The Sasanian king Peroz (459–484) met his death in the course of battle against them; his son, Kavad I (488–497), reclaimed the Sasanian throne with the support of the Hephthalites, who gained political control of Transoxiana and Bactria after they conquered the Sogdians in A.D. 510 and dominated Central Asia and Iran until they were defeated by the combined forces of Khosrow I and the Turks in 560.

The Bandian tetrastyle hall displays features that link it with the earlier architecture of Bactria and Iran in Parthian times, and with that of Transoxiana in the fifth through eighth centuries. The rectangular hall, or *eyvan*, with a roof supported by four columns arranged in a square and fronted by a portico, is an architectural formula first found in the *ayadana* at Susa.

It is recalled in the third phase of the temple at Bard-i Neshandeh, in Elymais; in the Square Hall, at Old Nisa; and at Merv, all datable to the period of Parthian rule. It is also a distinctive feature of the dynastic shrines of the Kushans in Bactria, as at Khalchayan and Surkh Kotal, and is a recurrent formula in Sogdian religious and secular architecture. A similar plan may have been employed in the earliest fire temple at Kuh-i Khwaja, in Sistan. The small rooms or cells attached to the tetrastyle hall at Bandian also may be compared to similar components of such halls in Parthian and East Iranian architecture, where the central cell on the back wall is sometimes supplied with a fire altar, occasionally preceded by a recess for offerings of branches used to kindle the fire.

The function of the Bandian complex, which may have changed over time during its various periods of reconstruction, remains uncertain. A Pahlavi inscription from the stucco reliefs in the great hall describes the foundation of a domain. The walls of the tetrastyle hall at the time of its construction, during the second building phase of the complex, were decorated with generic scenes of ritual, battle, hunt, and banquet. This is presumably the time when the great terra-

cotta fire altar was placed in the cell at the back wall of the great hall. These, however, were built later than the floor recess in the great hall that faces the cell with the fire altar. Finally, the temporal relationship of the stucco reliefs and the fire altar to the terra-cotta ossuaries in the complex remains unclear. Zoroastrian religious proscriptions would surely have prohibited contamination of a shrine or residence with burial remains.

Note

1. After this article was sent to the typesetter, an article reporting on the 1994 and 1995 excavations (but not that of 1997, in which the fire altar was discovered) appeared in *Studia Iranica*: M. Rahbar, "Découverte d'un monument d'époque sassanide à Bandian, Dargaz (Nord Khorassan): Fouilles 1994 et 1995," *StIr* 27.2 (1998), pp. 213–50. For the inscriptions, see P. Gignoux, "Les inscriptions en moyen-perse de Bandiān," *ibid.*, pp. 251–58. See also M. Rahbar, "A Dargaz (Khorassan): Découverte de panneaux de stucs sassanides," *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 243 (May, 1999), pp. 62–65 (= R. Boucharlat, ed., *Empires perses d'Alexandre aux Sassanides*).

Guitty Azarpay

Analysis of Writing Materials in Middle Persian Documents

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Shorter Notices

Analysis of Writing Materials in Middle Persian Documents

Part I

The discussion of the physical characteristics of Middle Persian documents at the University of California, Berkeley, by this writer at the meeting of the 5th European Society of Iranian Studies, held in Ravenna, Italy, in 2003, left unanswered the questions of the composition and characteristics of the ink, textile, and leather as writing materials.¹ The present paper addresses these questions in light of recent scientific analyses conducted by Dr. Kathleen Martin and her associates, at McCrone Group Associates, Inc., Westmont, Illinois. The results of these analyses are presented as Part II of this paper.

Summary of Earlier Studies

The collection of Middle Persian documents at Berkeley, also referred to as the Pahlavi Archive at Berkeley, was anonymously donated to the University of California's Bancroft Library in 2001 and 2002, and comprises over 260 parchment/leather and textile manuscripts, 82 of which still bear one or more clay bullae stamped with impressions of seals. The collection is currently being classified by Philippe Gignoux and Rika Gyselen in preparation for their eventual publications and for the digitization of the documents and bullae for a Bancroft Library website.² This substantial corpus of Pahlavi manuscripts was probably even more extensive prior to its acquisition by the Bancroft Library, as evidenced in the strong similarities between manuscripts and bullae at Berkeley and those from a number of smaller collections.³ It is hoped that further paleographic studies of the documents in the col-

lection will eventually provide greater precision in our knowledge of their provenance and of their date, which is now placed on the basis of C14 tests from the seventh to the eighth (at 68 percent confidence) or the seventh to ninth century (at 95 percent confidence).⁴

The documents so far studied and read by Philippe Gignoux appear to be economic texts, written on roughly rectangular and triangular shaped manuscripts that vary in measurement from about 15" × 14" to 3" × 1".⁵ The method of preparation of the documents intended for transmission was as follows. The document was closed into a small rectangular packet after it was rolled up, folded, wrapped with a string, and knotted. A moist clay pellet, the bulla (usually 2" to 3" × 1" to 2 cm), was then pressed over the knot and stamped with one or more seals. Although all the documents in the Berkeley collection had been opened prior to their acquisition by the University of California, their method of closure and sealing is demonstrated by a similar document that had remained unopened, now in the collection of the Free University, Berlin.⁶ Notable in the documents at Berkeley is the attachment of the bulla below the bottom line, often in the center of the page.

Occasionally several documents, each bearing a bulla below the bottom line, are *bound together* at the top center of the page with an additional bulla stamped with one or more seal impressions (fig. 1-a). It is speculated that the binding and sealing of multiple documents, each with the closure seal still preserved below the bottom line, may be attributed to the archivist who thus organized and recorded original copies of documents.

Analysis of Samples

Random samples of ink and fabrics used as writing materials, and samples of other miscellaneous

fabrics acquired with the collection were submitted for analysis in 2005.⁷

Whereas samples 1, 2, 5, and 6 were taken from the documents and from unattached bullae,⁸ samples 3 and 4 were taken from a textile fragment and from a piece of unraveled yarn included in the collection. However, these and other miscellaneous items,⁹ acquired with the collection, may be unrelated to the documents.

Ink. The composition of the ink on random samples of the Middle Persian documents at Berkeley is carbon-based, specifically lamp black, rather than iron gall, according to Dr. Martin's McCrone Associates' findings.¹⁰ The most common black pigments, represented by lamp black of various sorts and a natural black earth, are not mentioned in an early Islamic treatise on bookbinding, written by Mu'zz ibn Badis (ca. A.D. 1025), presumably because their preparation was too well known to be included among the more complex ink recipes listed by that author.¹¹ Lamp soot, or lamp black, was produced by gathering soot from inside a chimney constructed over a four-wick lamp that burned linseed oil. The soot was then sieved and subjected to further treatment to produce a fine powder. Gum Arabic was commonly used as a binder, with glair as an alternative.¹²

The presence of clay minerals in the ink samples from the Middle Persian documents under study, noted by Dr. Martin's McCrone Associates' findings, may well be explained by the method of the preparation and storage of the ink.

Parchment and Leather. Although al-Nadim, a tenth-century Islamic source, observes the earlier use by Persians of sheep, buffalo, and oxen skins as writing materials, goat and sheep skins were evidently the usual materials of early Islamic parchments.¹³ Indeed, 1 of the 3 fragments used as writing material and submitted for analysis (sample 1), under magnification appears to be parchment prepared from goat or kid skin, identified by the hair fibers (fig. 2). Goatskin, which has a different fiber size and network structure from sheep and cow hides, is a superior writing material due to its softness and flexibil-

ity.¹⁴ Surviving Middle Persian documents from the Archduke Rainer's collection in Vienna also include several documents described as parchment and two of leather that are dated to A.D. 619–629, the last years of the Sasanian dynasty when it ruled over Egypt.¹⁵

Linen. The identification of the writing material in 27 of the documents at Berkeley as linen (bast fibers, the most common of which are linen and hemp), rather than silk as earlier believed, is perhaps to be expected since linen is known to have been used as a writing material in earlier times in both Egypt and China.¹⁶

The fabric in all 3 linen samples (samples #2, 5, and 6) is shown to be a 1:1 plain weave, with both warp and weft direction in a Z twist. The use of the Z-spun warp, which is notable in Persian woolen and silk weaves attributed to the Sasanian period,¹⁷ evidently continued in various weaves along the Silk Road into early Islamic times. It is found, for example, in the weaving technique of the undyed and bleached linen leggings, excavated at Moshchevaja Balka, in the northern Caucasus (between the Black and Caspian Seas), in the collection of the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and dated to the eighth to the tenth century.¹⁸

The textile documents in the collection at Berkeley are generally cut into a roughly triangular shape, with the widest part at the top of the document and the sharpest angle below the bottom line.¹⁹ Woven linen cloth, manufactured from home-grown flax, used as writing material for correspondence and record keeping in Sasanian Iran, was a readily available and economical substitute for other writing materials, such as the relatively rare Egyptian papyrus and costly parchment and leather. The discovery of specimens of linen cloth used as writing material in Sasanian Iran is of interest in that it now offers tangible evidence of the transfer of linen as a writing material by Persians to Arabs in early Islamic times. Moreover, linen rag, which was first used in papermaking in China from perhaps as early as the second century B.C.,²⁰ was the essential ingredient in the production of the earliest paper in the Islamic world. This was the renowned Samarqand or Khorasan paper, introduced there from China in the eighth century, which came into general use in the Eastern Is-

lamic lands before it spread to the Western lands.²¹

Guitty Azarpay

Part II

The Pahlavi Archive, currently housed at the University of California at Berkeley, a collection of Middle Persian bullae and manuscripts dating to the early post-Sasanian period, discussed in Part I of this article, was presented as writing surfaces composed of leather and silk. However, none of the materials had been subjected to scientific testing to verify their nature. Here, we describe the analysis of a random selection of document fragments using several micro-analytical techniques.

One of the document samples consisted of three fragments of stiff, warped, tan-colored material with ink markings on one face. Examination by light microscopy revealed the presence of hair fibers, indicating an animal origin for the document (fig. 1-b). Comparison of hair fibers from the document fragment was made to fibers from a domestic U.S. goat, which were found to be very similar. Comparison was also made of collagen fiber bundles removed from the document fragment to collagen bundles from samples of modern sheep, calf, and goat parchment.²² Collagen bundles from goat parchment were found to be most similar to the collagen from the document (figs. 2-a, b). In addition, UV-fluorescence examination of the document fragment, as well as other tests, supported the identification of the material as parchment rather than leather.²³ Thus, this document material appears to be goat-based parchment.

The ink on the document fragment was examined by PLM, Raman spectroscopy, and SEM-EDS, all of which support an identification of carbon ink rather than iron gall ink. Furthermore, the ink morphology was highly suggestive of a lamp black rather than a charcoal black pigment. A higher incidence of clay minerals in the ink compared to the underlying substrate suggests the possibility that the ink was manufactured or stored in a clay pot.

An initial analysis by infrared spectroscopy of five other document fragments found them to be

cellulosic (plant-based) rather than silk, as had been expected. PLM examination identified three of these fragments to be composed of bast fibers, the most common of which are flax and hemp, and two of the fragments as cotton. The bast fiber fragments were all woven cloths in a 1:1 plain weave, with both fill and warp directions in a Z twist (figs. 3-a, b).

Accurate characterization of ancient materials is often of great importance as it can clear up misconceptions about the nature of these materials and can influence decisions regarding conservation and storage.²⁴

J. G. Barabe, K. A. Martin, and A. S. Teetsov

Part III

Conclusion

The following conclusions may be drawn from the analyses of the Middle Persian writing materials in the Berkeley collection. The ink used to write the documents is carbon-based lamp black (rather than iron gall ink), a common black pigment used in ink making through Islamic times. A leather fragment, randomly selected from among the Berkeley documents, is parchment manufactured from goat or kid skin, a superior writing material due to its softness and flexibility. Finally, the textile used as a writing material in the Berkeley collection is in fact linen, rather than silk as earlier believed.

This author wishes to express deep gratitude for the cooperation and expertise of Dr. Kathleen Martin and the scientists at McCrone Group Associates, Inc., towards the resolution of a number of persistent questions about the composition of the writing material in Middle Persian documents under study. In a more detailed report of the results of their analyses, sent to this writer on August 15, 2005, Dr. Martin noted that the analysis of the fabric samples examined by McCrone Associates found white crystals on the surface of the fabric around some of the inked areas that appear to be calcium sulfate (gypsum), a common mineral. This important observation suggests the use of a sizing technique in the preparation of the linen cloth as a writing material, which was thus made relatively impermeable and resistant to the

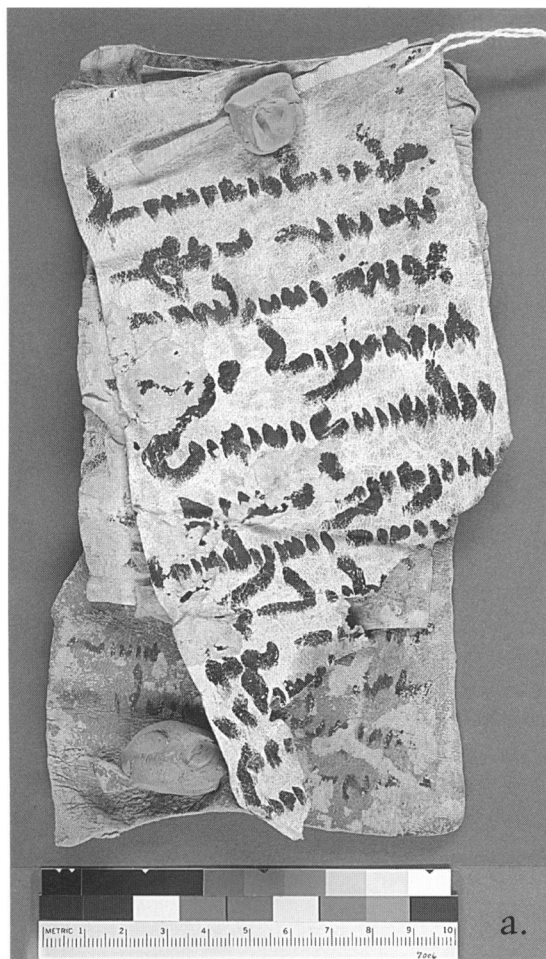
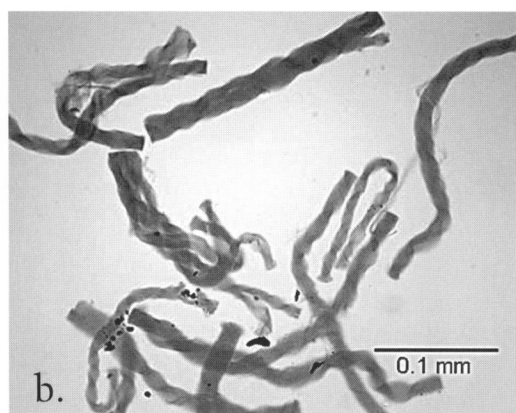
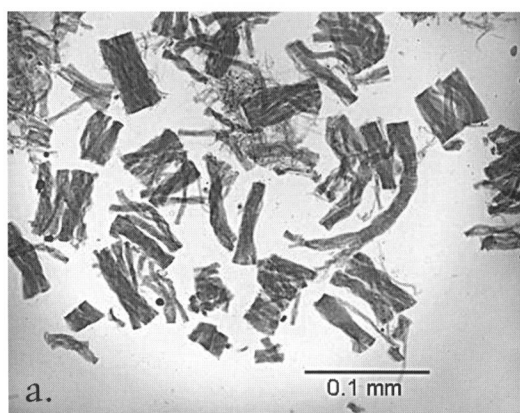
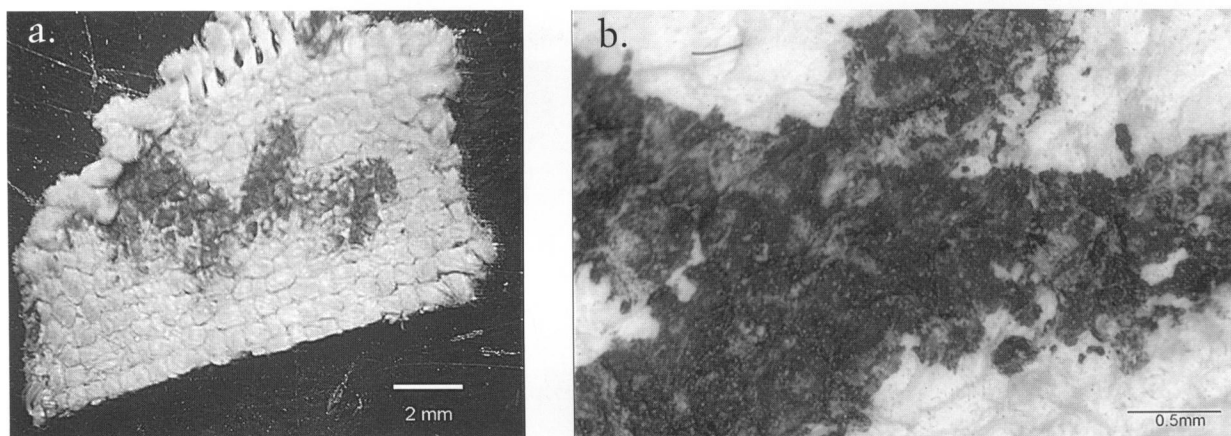


Fig. 1-b. Fragment of a leather document in the collection of the Bancroft Library showing hairs. Photo: McCrone Associates, Inc.

Fig. 1-a. Leather document (Middle Persian document #43) in the collection of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photo: Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.



Figs. 2-a, b. Collagen bundles removed from document fragment (a) and modern goat parchment (b). Photo: McCrone Associates, Inc.



Figs. 3-a, b. Bast-fiber document fragments with markings. Photo: McCrone Associates, Inc.

spreading of the ink. It is hoped that future analyses of the ink samples by these scientists may reveal whether the ink was used with an admixture of a gum, which according to the early sources was a customary practice that was designed to impart an adhesive quality to the ink.

Guitty Azarpay

Notes

1. G. Azarpay, "Sealed Pahlavi Manuscripts at Berkeley: Physical Characteristics," in "Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea" (Ravenna 2003), vol. 1, *Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies*, ed. A. Panaino and A. Piras, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, to appear in 2006.

2. Ibid., "Rare Pahlavi Texts Now at Bancroft," *Bancroftiana* 123, University of California, Berkeley, 2003), pp. 1, 4; P. Gignoux, "Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif du début du septième siècle de notre ère," *CRAI* (1991) pp. 683–700; idem, "Six documents Pehlevis sur cuir du California Museum of Ancient Art," *BAI* 10 (1996), pp. 63–72; idem, "Une liste pehlevie des noms de mois et de jours (document Berkeley no. 38)," in "Festschrift Bo Utas," Uppsala (in press); idem, "Sept documents économiques en pehlevi," "Mélanges W. Skalmowski," Leuven (in press) [re-edition of "Nouveaux documents pehlevis sur soie," in *Philologica et Linguistica, Historia, Pluralitas, Universitas, Festschrift für Helmut Humbach zum 80. Geburtstag am 4. Dezember 2001*,

ed. M. G. Schmidt and W. Bisang (Trier, 2001)]; idem, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran du 7ème siècle," in *Contribution à l'histoire et la géographie historique de l'empire sassanide*, *Res Orientalis* XVI (Leuven, 2005), pp. 37–48.

3. A manuscript reportedly from the 1960s in the 'Abbas Mazda Collection; 6 Pahlavi manuscripts and a related group of 71 complete specimens of bullae in the California Museum of Ancient Art, in Los Angeles; and over 30 specimens of manuscripts and related bullae in Berlin. For more complete references, see G. Azarpay, "The Pahlavi Archive at Berkeley," in "Egypt and Beyond: Studies in Honor of Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbur Chair at Brown University," *Egyptological Studies*, Brown University, ed. S. E. Thomson, Providence, 2006 (in press); "Bullae from the Pahlavi Archive at the University of California, Berkeley" (in press); for the electronic version see *Eran ud Aneran: Studies Presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, *Webschrift Marshak* 2003, ed. M. Compareti, P. Raffetta, and G. Scarcia: www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/index.html.

4. Although the exact place of discovery of the Middle Persian Archive under study is still unknown, there is little question, on paleographic grounds, that the documents originated in Iran. The latest C14 tests of random samples of the Berkeley documents place them in the years A.D. 651–776 (at 68 percent confidence), and A.D. 600–888 (at 95 percent confidence), see Azarpay, "Sealed Pahlavi Manuscripts at Berkeley: Physical Characteristics." A late seventh-century date for the collection appears also to be supported by the scant evidence so far gleaned on paleographic grounds. The era referred to in these documents, earlier placed

by Gignoux in the reign of Xusro II (A.D. 590–628), is now believed by the latter to have exceeded the regnal years of that king, see Gignoux, "Nouveaux documents pehlevi sur soie," pp. 9–10. A late seventh-century date is offered by Gignoux in, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran du 7ème siècle," p. 37.

5. Azarpay, "Sealed Pahlavi Manuscripts at Berkeley: Physical Characteristics," p. 3.

6. D. Huff, "Technological Observations on Clay Bullae from Takht-i Suleiman," *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987), p. 390.

7. The samples of writing materials and miscellanea comprise the following:

1: ink on three leather fragments attached to clay bullae

2: ink on a fabric fragment attached to a bulla

3: a miscellaneous item, represented by an uninscribed textile fragment

4: a miscellaneous item, represented by a cluster of yarn, perhaps from a string

5: a fragment of fabric from an inscribed document (ms 25)

6: a fragment of the uninscribed section of a fabric document

8. By unattached bulla is meant a bulla that had fallen away from the document to which it was originally attached.

9. Most of these items have not been subjected to C14 testing.

10. While gallnuts are the more or less fixed ingredients of most inks, soot continues to be mentioned in later Muslim sources as useful for ink preparation, especially soot derived from sesame, walnut, hazelnut, seeds, or naphtha. The recipes for soot inks differ from each other according to the material from which the soot is prepared. Ibn Badis identifies Persian ink as a variety of soot ink prepared in the following way. "Description of Persian ink. Take the seed of the date that has been ripened in vinegar. Put it in a clay vessel. Take as much as you wish. Lute the vessel with clay of the art. The luting is done after a cloth has been put over the mouth. It is set down until it is dried a little. Then, if it is desired, the firewood is lit. It is shaken from morning to night. If desired, it is introduced into the furnace for the two kinds of glass. When it is taken out of the fire, it is set down until it is cold. Then it comes out black like charcoal. It is then made into cakes." Tannin inks, obtained from gallnut mixed with vitriol and gum, used at an early date for writing on papyrus, are a type of blue/black ink still used today, see M. Levey, "Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and Its Relation to Early Chemistry and Pharmacology," *Transactions of the American Philological Society*, n.s., 52.4 (1962), p. 7.

11. Levey, "Medieval Arabic Bookmaking," p. 17.

12. Although samples of pens were not included in the collection, it is most likely that the sharpened reed was used for writing Middle Persian, similar to the pens used to write Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek, but different from the brush used to write Chinese, see A. H. Hassan and D. R. Hill, *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 174.

13. *The Fihrist of al-Nadim*, p. 39; G. Bosch, J. Carswell, and G. Petheridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago, 1981), p. 25; J. Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, ed. R. Hillenbrand (Princeton, 1984), p. 55.

14. R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London, 1972), pp. 119–20; H. Loveday, *Islamic Paper: A Study of the Ancient Craft* (London, ca. 2001), p. 13.

15. D. Weber, "Die Pehlevifragmente de Papyrus-sammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," in *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen bestehen der Papyrus-sammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, Text (Vienna, 1983), p. 25, #13:22–23 (described as leather), #13:16–20, 28–29 (described as parchment).

16. The textile used as writing material in the Berkeley collection had been identified as silk by the original owner of the collection prior to its sale and donation to the Bancroft Library.

17. For the use of the Z-spun warp and weft in Sasanian textiles, see C. M. Bier, "Textiles," in P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter: Art of the Sasanian Empire* (New York, 1978), pp. 119–40; A. Jeroussalimskaja, "Soieries sassanides," in *Splendeur des Sassanides: L'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine [224–642]*, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles, 1993), p. 114; B. Overlaet, D. de Jonghe, and S. Daemen, "Pfister's Sassanian Cock Tapestry Reconsidered: A Rediscovery at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," *IA* 31, (1996), pp. 179–211.

18. Nobuko Kajitani, "A Man's Caftan and Leggings from the North Caucasus of the Eighth to Tenth Century: A Conservator's Report," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 38 (2001), pp. 98–99. For the characteristics, development, and distribution of the Z-spun and S-spun yarns along the Silk Road, see also Zhao Feng, "The Evolution of Textiles along the Silk Road," in J. C. Y. Watt et al., *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 AD* (New York, 2004), pp. 67–77. I wish to thank Dr. Prudence Harper for these two references.

19. Based on the evidence of an unopened document of this type now in the collection of the Free University in Berlin, the document was originally rolled up from the bottom into a scroll, the two ends of which were then folded over, with one end pressed over the other. The scroll packet was then tied with a string passed through a hole at the top of the docu-

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ment, and knotted around it. Finally, the knot was covered by a moist piece of clay, the bulla, on which an impression was made with a seal.

20. F. Grenet and N. Sims-Williams, "The Historical Context of the Sogdian Ancient Letters," in *Transition Periods in Iranian History: Actes du Symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau (22-24 Mai 1985)*, *Studia Iranica*, Cahier 5, 1987, p. 102; S. Quraishi, "A Survey of the Development of Papermaking in Islamic Countries," *Bookbinder* 3 (1989), p. 31; Tsien Tsuen-hsiun, "Paper and Printing," in J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5 (Cambridge 1985), p. 1, *passim*.

21. G. Khan, "Arabic Papyri," *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts*, Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation (London, 1995), p. 2.

22. Parchment samples were provided courtesy of the Newberry Library of Chicago, Illinois.

23. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers*.

24. Several colleagues who contributed to this work are gratefully acknowledged: Richard Bisbing, Kristen Skraba, and Joseph Swider.

New Information on the Date and Function of the Berkeley MP Archive

Author(s): GUITTY AZARPAY, KATHLEEN MARTIN, MARTIN SCHWARTZ and DIETER WEBER

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New Information on the Date and Function of the Berkeley MP Archive

G U I T T Y A Z A R P A Y, K A T H L E E N M A R T I N,
M A R T I N S C H W A R T Z, A N D D I E T E R W E B E R

Summary

Four small fragments of paper with early Arabic and a paper fragment without script, but decorated with paint and collage, are unique in the collection of Middle Persian documents from the Pahlavi Archive,¹ donated to the University of California's Bancroft Library in 2001 and 2002 (fig. 1).² As an anomaly among the collection's some 300 complete and fragmentary Middle Persian manuscripts,³ written on parchment/leather and linen, the paper fragments with Arabic script, identified by acquisition numbers 261 and 262, present questions about their date, relationship to the MP documents in the Berkeley collection, and their place in the history of papermaking in the Islamic world.

Part I of this study compares the radiocarbon dates obtained for the Arabic paper fragments with those established for the Middle Persian documents that come from the same archive at Berkeley. Then follows a reexamination of the date, authorship, and function of the Berkeley Middle Persian documents in the light of the new information obtained from the Arabic paper fragments' date and content. Part II, by Dr. Kathleen Martin,⁴ gives the results of the chemical analysis of the paper that served as the fragments' writing medium. Part III offers contributions on the etymology and origin of the term *kharāj* (*xarāj*) by Martin Schwartz, and on "The *xarāj* Taxation and the Pahlavi Document Berk. No. 27" by Dieter Weber. In a following article entitled, "The Arabic Paper Fragments from

Berkeley," published in the present volume of the *BAI*, Professor Geoffrey Khan discusses the particulars of the texts and script of the Arabic fragments from Berkeley.⁵

Part I

Radiocarbon Date of the Arabic Paper Fragments

To determine the date of the Arabic paper fragments, samples from fragments with script (no. 261) and without script (no. 262)⁶ were submitted for radiocarbon dating to Dr. A. J. Timothy Jull, Professor of Geosciences, at the NSF Arizona AMS Laboratory.⁷ The results obtained for the sample of document no. 261 are: A.D. 665–770 (1 sigma, 68.3% confidence) and A.D. 653–858 (2 sigma, 95.4% confidence).⁸ Those obtained for the sample of document no. 262 (without script) are: A.D. 688–775 (1 sigma, 68.3% confidence), and A.D. 668–864 (2 sigma, 95.4% confidence). The mid seventh to mid eighth or early ninth century date, determined for the paper documents, in fact corresponds closely to the radiocarbon dates that had been obtained for the Middle Persian documents in the Pahlavi Archive in 2001.⁹ The inclusion of the paper document in the Middle Persian collection and their near contemporaneity, therefore, would seem to suggest their common context and place of discovery.¹⁰

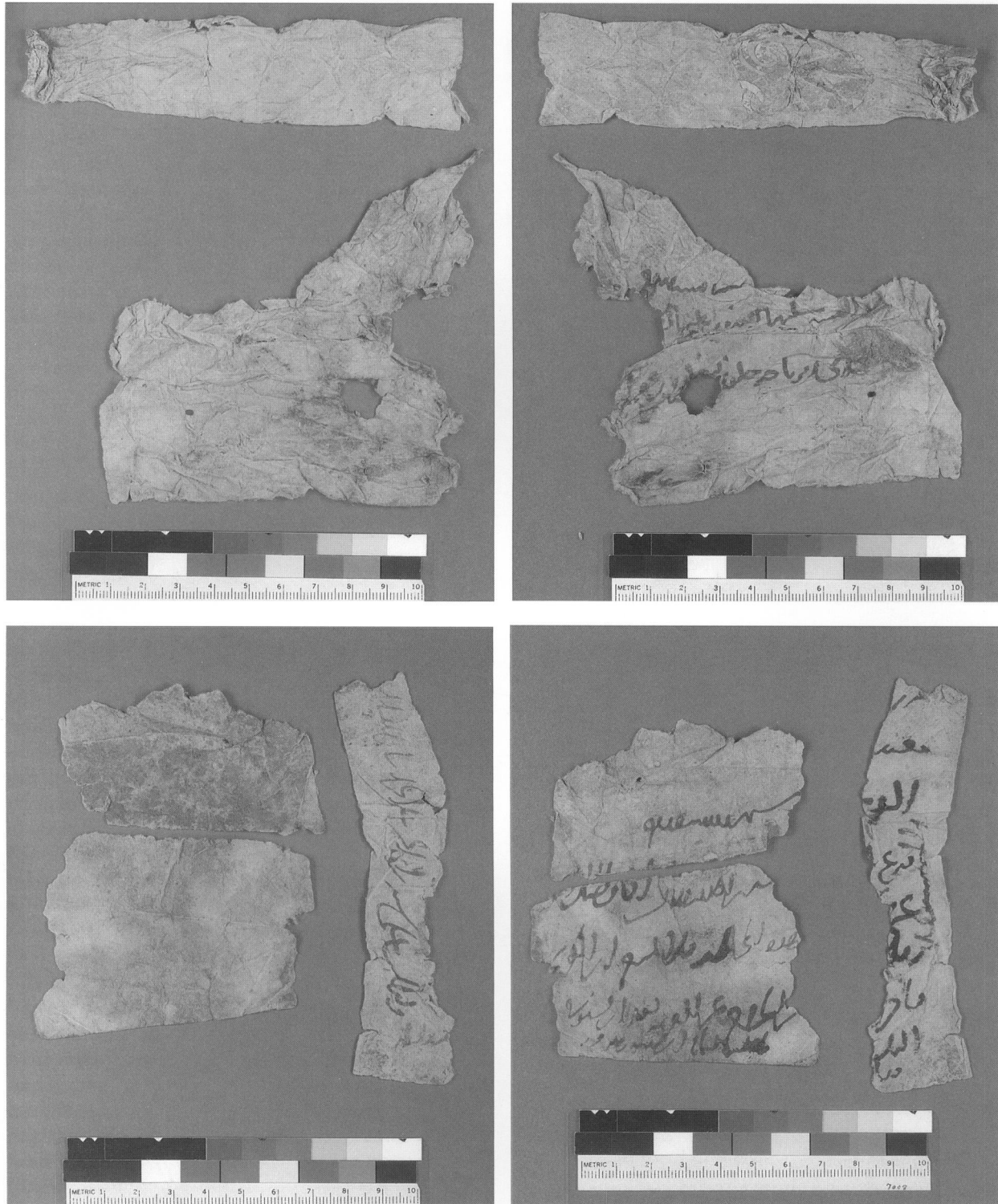
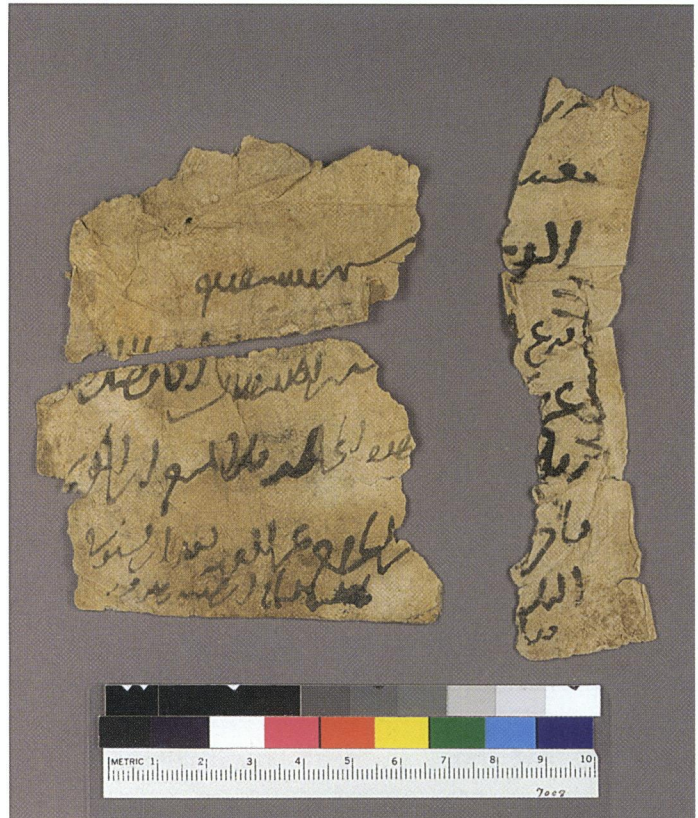
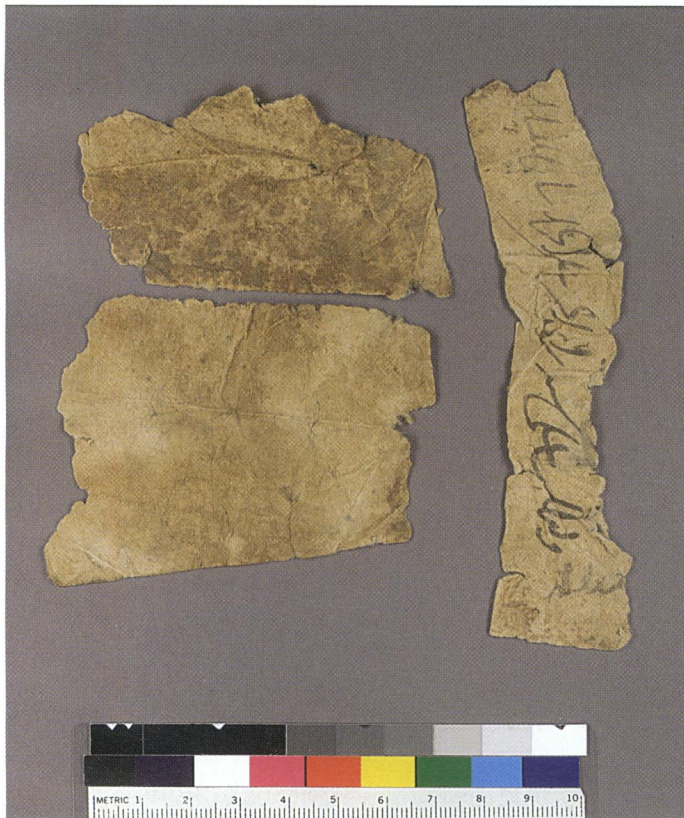


Fig. 1. Berkeley document no. 262 is the blank paper strip shown in the two uppermost recto/verso images (12 × 2 cm). Berkeley document no. 261 consists of "Fragment 1" with Arabic script [11 × 9 cm], second from top; "Fragment 2" with script on recto and verso [11 × 3 cm]; "Fragment 3" and "Fragment 4" with script on recto only, had split from a single piece of paper measuring (8 × 8 cm). Photo: Courtesy the Bancroft Library, University of California.



Color representation of Berkeley documents no. 262 and 261 as shown in the preceding fig. 1 (see fig. 1 caption for details).
Photo: Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California.

The Dates Suggested by the Fragments' Texts, Script, and Paper

Professor Geoffrey Khan, who first identified the early Arabic script of the fragments from document no. 261, has determined a *terminus post quem* for the Arabic fragments by the reference, in text five, to the payment of *kharāj* tax, which he associates with the introduction of that term in the administrative reforms of the Abbasids in the middle of the 8th century A.D./2nd A.H. A *terminus ad quem* in the 9th century A.D./3rd century A.H. is proposed for the Arabic texts on the basis of their formulaic phraseology and script (see his article, "The Arabic Paper Fragments from Berkeley," in this volume). The chemical analysis of the paper fragments, undertaken by Dr. Kathleen Martin, Senior Research Scientist at McCrone Associates, Inc., summarized below in Part II, shows the samples to be composed of bast fibers, probably linen. Most of the fibers are described as individual or "processed" fibers, derived from rags. These are mixed with a smaller number of raw fibers, described as fiber bundles consisting of incompletely processed/retted material. The fiber composition of the paper document nos. 261 and 262 is thus consistent with that of early Islamic paper that was predominantly made up of linen rags or waste fibers with the occasional admixture of raw fibers, the production of which is first evidenced in the east Islamic world in the 8th century A.D.¹¹

The Date of the Middle Persian Documents at Berkeley According to Radiocarbon Tests and Paleographic and Historical Considerations

The mid 8th century A.D. *terminus post quem* proposed by Geoffrey Khan for the Arabic fragments may be valid also for the latest Berkeley MP documents on the following grounds. The range of carbon dates determined for the MP documents, A.D. 600–888, is some half a century earlier and a few decades later than the A.D. 653–858 date range determined for the Arabic fragments. The narrowing of the date of the Arabic fragments to the early 9th century on paleographic and historical grounds, suggested by Professor Khan, therefore, would place the Arabic fragments some half a century later than the

earliest Berkeley MP documents in the same collection. Indeed, a range of some five decades may well separate the earliest from the latest MP documents as evidenced in dates given in the documents that span some four decades from an unnamed era.¹²

Moreover, if the Middle Persian documents at Berkeley with the latest era dates are contemporaneous with the Arabic fragments of the early 9th century A.D. (as suggested by radiocarbon tests), then the MP documents that bear the earliest era years are at least some four or five decades earlier, or datable to the second half of the eighth century A.D. However, the Berkeley MP documents without era years may well belong somewhere in the broader 7th to 9th century date range determined for the collection. Indeed, at least one Berkeley document (no. 129) may date as early as the mid seventh century, based on Philippe Gignoux's reading there of the name of King Hormizd, presumably Hormizd V (631–632 A.D.).¹³

Eras Used for Time Reckoning in Early Post-Sasanian Iran

The *Hejrī* calendar, which was based on the Arabic lunar year and months, was reportedly introduced by the second caliph, 'Omar b. Khaṭṭāb (13/634–23/644). This calendar, which starts from the date of the prophet's flight from Mecca to Medina on 12 September A.D. 622, remains in use today among Muslims for the timing of religious observances.¹⁴ It is unlikely, however, that the *Hejrī* calendar would have been adopted in the Zoroastrian communities of early post-Sasanian Iran prior to their conversion to Islam.

The *Yazdegerdī* calendar, one of several calendars used for time reckoning in post-Sasanian Iran, was based on the Persian solar year and months and remained in use as a civil calendar in most of the Persian provinces after the Arab conquest of Iran.¹⁵ The *Yazdegerdī* era, which began with the accession of the last Sasanian king Yazdegerd III, in A.D. 632, however, did not end with the king's death as was customary among the Sasanian Persians, but continued in use for purposes of time reckoning among Zoroastrians in the Islamic period. Bīrūnī explains, "The reason why precisely the era of this king among all kings of Persia has become so generally known,

is this that this king ascended the throne, when the empire had been shattered, when the women had got hold of it, and usurpers had seized all power. Besides, he was the last of their kings, and it was he with whom Omar ben Alkhaṭṭāb fought most of those famous wars and battles. Finally, the empire succumbed, and he was put to flight and was killed in the house of a miller at Marw-i-Shāhijān."¹⁶ Another calendar similar to the *Yazdegerdī*, also used by Zoroastrians in parts of Iran and Transoxiana in early Islamic times, was the so-called *Magian* calendar, the *era Magorum*, the *Tārīkh al-majūs* of Bīrūnī,¹⁷ which commenced on A.D. 652, the year following Yazdegerd's death.¹⁸

The *kharājī* calendar was a financial calendar that was unrelated to the *Hejrī*, but used in Islam for the purpose of the collection of land tax, or *kharāj*, paid in cash or kind in each annual agricultural cycle. This calendar was presumably based on an earlier Sasanian *kharājī* calendar, reported to have begun in the year A.D. 611, the twenty-first year of the reign of the Sasanian king Khosrow II (591–628 A.D.).¹⁹ In the few instances that early Islamic Persian writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cite *kharājī* dates with their *Hejrī* equivalents, the *kharājī* months, specifically those of Fārs, coincide exactly with months of the *Yazdegerdī* calendar. On the basis of this coincidence, Abdolahi concludes that the *kharājī* calendar of Fārs was the original calendar adopted in Iran as a tax calendar soon after the advent of Islam. Although the adoption of the Sasanian *kharājī* calendar for tax purposes in Islam is traditionally placed in the time of 'Omar b. Khaṭṭāb (A.H. 13–23/A.D. 634–644), the earliest evidence for its use in Islamic times dates from the reign of the caliph Hishām (A.H. 105–125/A.D. 724–743).²⁰

The early Muslim avoidance of intercalation in the calculations of the *kharājī* calendar had led to the sliding back of the date of tax collection to a month when crops were not yet ready for harvest, a fact that placed much hardship on taxpayers. The date of the Persian *Nowrūz*, the state date for "the opening of taxation," which had slid back to April, was corrected as a result of early Abbasid reforms of the tax or *kharājī* calendar. The Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.H. 232–247/A.D. 847–861) attempted to correct the calendar in accordance with the Persian interca-

lated calendar in which *Nowrūz* always followed harvest. Al-Mutawakkil's reforms that had not been fully implemented at the time of his death were taken up forty years later, in the reign of the caliph al-Mo'taḍid (A.H. 279–289/A.D. 892–902).²¹ These reforms introduced into the Zoroastrian year an intercalation of two months that relocated *Nowrūz* from April to June of the year 264 *Yazdegerdī* (A.H. 262/A.D. 895), which postponed the date of taxation to the time of harvest and thus served to accommodate taxpayers.²²

Identification of the Unnamed Era in the Berkeley MP Documents

In a 2004 article that treated numerous texts from the MP documents at Berkeley and from other collections, Philippe Gignoux identified the unnamed era mentioned in those documents with the *Yazdegerdī* era, dated from the accession year of the last Sasanian king Yazdegerd III (A.D. 632–651).²³ Reference in the documents to the years 10 to 48, a time span of some four decades of the *Yazdegerdī* era, therefore, would place the documents in the years A.D. 642–680. The seventh century date proposed by Gignoux for the Berkeley MP documents falls at the lowest limit of the radiocarbon dates obtained for the collection,²⁴ and is about a century earlier than the mid 8th century *terminus post quem* dates proposed by Professor Khan for the Arabic paper fragments. These considerations, and the radiocarbon evidence for the near contemporaneity of the Arabic and MP documents at Berkeley, invite exploration of alternative identifications for the unnamed era, and of the numerals given for the years in the documents.

Of critical importance for the determination of the function and authorship of MP documents is Professor Khan's reading, in text 5 of the Arabic fragments, of two references to the payment of *kharāj* tax, a term that was introduced in the administrative reforms of the Abbasids in the middle of the 8th century A.D./2nd A.H. Since there is little question that the payment of *kharāj* tax would have been determined on the basis of the *kharājī* calendar, it may be assumed that at least some of the Berkeley MP documents that constitute a body of economic documents from the same collection were also dated according to

the *kharājī* calendar. Moreover, the MP documents, described as invoices, bills, and records, were evidently sealed, notarized, and stored in a registry that functioned over a relatively long time span, from the late Sasanian period into early Islamic times.²⁵ Thus the late Sasanian *kharājī* calendar, which had been introduced in A.D. 611, is perhaps the most likely calendar to have been used for the dating of such documents, especially if some of the Middle Persian documents are interpreted as tax records from late Sasanian and early Islamic periods of Iran. However, since the term *kharāj* is so far documented only in the Arabic paper fragments, and not in readings of the Middle Persian documents at Berkeley, the term may well be the Arabic term for land tax that may have had a different MP designation (now see below, Dieter Weber, "The *xarāj* Taxation and the Pahlavi Document Berk. No. 27").

The *kharājī* era in early post-Sasanian Iran evidently followed the *Yazdegerdī* calendar, not only in its use of the same Persian months, but also in its adoption of the year A.D. 632, the accession year of the last Sasanian ruler, as the first year of that calendar in post-Sasanian Iran.²⁶ Thus the dates proposed by Gignoux for the MP documents according to the *Yazdegerdī* calendar years²⁷ are also valid for the *kharājī* calendar. The identification of the *kharājī* calendar with the era years of the Berkeley MP documents is also suggested by a small but striking difference in the manner in which era dates are indicated in some of these and in similar documents in Berlin and Los Angeles. Unlike other types of Sasanian and early post-Sasanian documents, such as funerary inscriptions where era years are customarily given by reference to month, year, and day, some of the Berkeley MP documents omit indication of the day, and only give the month and year of the era.²⁸ Thus citation of a specific day was evidently deemed irrelevant in a certain category of documents represented by those at Berkeley. One explanation for this omission is offered in the following discussion of the function of these documents.

Although the proposed identification of the unnamed era of the MP documents with the *kharājī* calendar does not resolve the one-century discrepancy between the latest dated Berkeley MP documents (late seventh century) and

the mid eighth century *terminus post quem* date of the Arabic fragments, it contributes to greater comparative specificity. For example, it is of interest that years from the later *kharājī* and the Turkish *Māliyya* calendars, when provided in documents, often omit the digit for the century of a give year, i.e., the *kharājī* year 350 is written as the year 50. On the other hand, if the era years given in the MP documents were intended as two-digit numbers from the *kharājī* calendar, then they would represent some of the earliest preserved evidence for the use of *kharājī* dates in Islamic times.²⁹

The Function and Authorship of the Berkeley MP Documents

Testimony to the need for accountability on the part of persons involved in the preparation and transmission of the invoices, bills, and records that constitute the majority of the MP documents is provided by the sealing of documents with bullae often bearing multiple impressions of different seals, some with Arabic inscriptions.³⁰ As proposed earlier, the dates indicated in these documents refer to the *kharājī* calendar, the financial calendar used in Islam for the purpose of the collection of land tax, or *kharāj*, paid in cash or kind in each annual agricultural cycle. It is of interest that the itemized record given in one Berkeley document for the year 30 (document no. 229) clearly referred to the previous year's inventory, according to the accountant's own concluding statement.³¹ Since the *kharājī* calendar began in the month that was the state date for "the opening of taxation," or *Nowrūz*, it is the month and year that are important reference points. Hence the omission of the indication of the day when the month and year are cited in tax records that may well constitute the majority of the MP documents at Berkeley, Berlin, and Los Angeles.

Much has been written on the critical importance of tax collection in early Islamic Iran, where the levying of taxes in taxing districts depended on a cadre of functionaries that included Iranian notables, landlords, and administrators. Especially significant are references in the documents to specific titles of local officials and functionaries such as *dārig* "manager,

governor,"³² *ostāndār* "provincial governor,"³³ *dar handarzbed* "tax collector,"³⁴ and *kārframān*, "overseer, inspector."³⁵ In Iran where the early Arab conquerors had concluded treaties with local Iranian magnates, it was the local notables, the *marzbāns*, and landlords, the *dehqāns*, who undertook to continue tax collection on behalf of the new Muslim power. Thus Iranian cultivators were required to pay the *kharāj*, or land tax, which was collected by Iranian functionaries and administrators for the Muslims in a system similar to the one that had predated the Arab conquest.³⁶ Sasanian elite and the administrative machinery were incorporated into the new regime, and scribes and accountants worked for their new masters as they had for the old. As the most lucrative and stable source of revenue for the caliphate, governors and tax collectors (*ʿāshir*) were sent to the conquered lands to oversee the collection of tribute and the *kharāj*, or land tax.³⁷ The local elite, landlords, and other notables, who had retained authority in their communities, assisted in the collection of taxes, and thus the former local, social, and religious order was left intact.³⁸ This situation continued into the Abbasid period when officials still depended on the input of the local elite and administrators, whom they referred to as their helpers, and relied on their cooperation in the tasks of assessment, division, and collection of the taxes.³⁹

Although the writers of the paper document fragments with Arabic script at Berkeley (no. 161) are not identified, Professor's Khan's reading of the texts proves their Arab Muslim authorship. References in text 5 of the Berkeley Arabic fragments to "*kharāj* tax the amount of the fine," and to the addressee as recipient of the full amount of the *kharāj* tax, suggest identification of the writer of that Arabic text with an Arab official, perhaps a governor or a tax collector. It is also noteworthy that the examples of Arabic script from the Berkeley archive are the only documents in that collection that are written on paper, a readily available and economically manufactured writing material, first produced in the East Islamic world in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁴⁰

In conclusion it may be noted that whereas the exact sciences have provided specific information on the date range and chemical composition of the Arabic paper fragments and of the MP documents at Berkeley, much still remains to be learned about these documents from the inexact

disciplines of paleography and history. Thanks to Philippe Gignoux's dedicated and painstaking study and decipherment of the Berkeley MP archive, much has been learned from these important early post-Sasanian texts. Therefore, it is to be hoped that future studies of the content of the Middle Persian documents at Berkeley, many of them still undeciphered, as well as that of similar documents in Berlin and Los Angeles, will yield additional information that will test the foregoing observations on the precise date, and the proposed function and authorship of these documents. Dr. Dieter Weber's contribution, "*The xarāj Taxation and the Pahlavi Document Berk. no. 27*," in Part III of this paper, is a step toward the realization of that hope.

Notes

1. The "Pahlavi" Archive, which in this case refers to the Middle Persian language and script of the archive, is to be distinguished from an archive of the same name that is unrelated to Middle Persian texts, but associated rather with the records of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the last shah of Iran (1941–1979).

2. All the paper fragments from document nos. 261 and 262 in the Berkeley collection are included in fig. 1. Document no. 162 (without script) is the narrow horizontal strip, 12 × 2 cm, shown recto and verso in the uppermost two images. The remainder of the fragments (with script), shown in the double images at top and bottom, recto facing verso, constitute document no. 261. Fragment 1, second from top, measures 11 × 9 cm. Below are three other fragments with script, written in different Arabic hands, according to Professor Khan: Fragment 2 (11 × 3 cm), with script on recto and verso, and Fragments 3 and 4 that had split from a single fragment measuring 8 × 8 cm, with script only on recto.

3. Although the Pahlavi Archive at Berkeley comprises 262 acquisition numbers, various unrelated, small fragments of documents are occasionally assembled collectively under a single number, hence the numerical count of the entire collection of complete and fragmentary documents in fact exceeds the 262 count suggested by the acquisition numbers. For the background and references to publications on the Pahlavi Archive at Berkeley, see G. Azarpay, J. G. Barabe, K. A. Martin, and A. S. Teetsov, "Analysis of Writing Materials in Middle Persian Documents," *BAI* 16 (2002 [2006]), pp. 181–87.

4. I wish to thank Dr. Kathleen A. Martin, Senior Research Chemist, McCrone Associates, for her me-

ticulous chemical analysis of the samples of paper from document nos. 261 and 262, and for her detailed report, of which a summary is offered in Part II of this article.

5. I wish to thank Professor Geoffrey Khan, Professor of Semitic Philology, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, for his cooperation in this study and for his brilliant reading and analysis of the Arabic paper fragments that constitute Berkeley document no. 261.

6. The paper samples that were submitted for chemical and radiocarbon tests were taken from the same sections of two documents of which recto and verso images are shown side by side in fig. 1. For a description of the paper fragments see above n. 2.

7. I wish to thank Dr. A. J. Timothy Jull, Professor of Geosciences, at the NSF Arizona AMS Laboratory, for his collaboration, once again, in providing a definite timeframe for documents from the Pahlavi Archive at Berkeley.

8. The test results, according to an emailed message from Dr. Jull to this writer, dated October 12, 2006, "are quoted for the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ [stable-isotopic composition], fraction of modern carbon, the uncalibrated radiocarbon age in years before present and the calibrated age, where we have compared the radiocarbon ages of calibrated tree rings."

9. The radiocarbon tests undertaken in 2001 by Dr. Jull were performed on a sample of the Berkeley Middle Persian parchment/leather document no. 37 and on random samples of inscribed leather and fabric fragments attached to loose bullae. The result of these tests was as follows: A.D. 651–776 (at 68% confidence), and A.D. 600–888 (at 95% confidence), see Azarpay, "Sealed Pahlavi Manuscripts at Berkeley: Physical Characteristics," in "Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea (Ravenna, 2003)," vol. 1, *"Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies,"* ed. A. Panaino and A. Piras, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Milan, 2007).

10. The MP documents, now divided between the University of California at Berkeley, the Free University, Berlin, and the Museum of Ancient Art and Antiquities at Los Angeles, were once part of a single collection. Various reports have placed their place of discovery in Iran at Takht-e Solaiman, Hamadan, or generally in Iranian Kurdistan. It is hoped that information on the place of origin of these documents will be provided by future studies of the content of the documents.

11. For the differences between Chinese and Islamic paper, see J. M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven, 2001), pp. 44–45; idem, "Silk Road or Paper Road?" *The Silk Road* 3.2 (Saratoga: The Silk Road Foundation, 2005), pp. 21–26; G. Azarpay, with a

Note by V. A. Livshits, "The MP Archive at Berkeley: A Pre-Islamic forerunner of 'Samarkand' Paper?" *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 1 (2007), pp. 141–43.

12. P. Gignoux, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran du 7^{ème} siècle," in *Contributions à l'histoire et la géographie historique de l'empire sassanide*, Res Orientalis 16 (Paris, 2004), pp. 37–48.

13. Ibid., pp. 37–38.

14. R. Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," in *EIr* 4, ed. E. Yarshater (New York, 2000), pp. 668–69.

15. S. H. Taqizadeh, "Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam," *BSOAS* 9 (1937–1939), pp. 917–18.

16. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of Al-Athār-ul-bākiya 'an al-qurūn al-hāliya of Abū l-Rayhān al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048)*, trans. C. E. Sachau, repr. Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, vol. 31 (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), p. 36: 2–9.

17. Taqizadeh, "Various Eras and Calendars used in the Countries of Islam," pp. 918–22; Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," pp. 669–70.

18. Bīrūnī notes, "people do not like to date from the death of a prophet or a king, except the prophet be a liar, or the king an enemy, whose death people enjoy, and wish to make a festival of; or he be one of those with whom a dynasty is extinguished, so that his followers among themselves make this date a memorial of him, and a mourning feast . . . It is precisely the same in the case of the era of Yazdajird ben Shahr-yār. For the Magians date from the time of his death, because when he perished, the dynasty was extinguished. Therefore, they dated from his death, mourning over him, and lamenting for the downfall of their religion," *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 35: 10–26.

19. Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," pp. 669–70. On the etymology and origin of the term *kharāj*, see below Martin Schwartz, "A Note on the Term *kharāj*," with reference to W. B. Henning's "Arabisch *harağ*," *Orientalia* 1935 (Rome, 1935), pp. 291–83; repr. *W. B. Henning Selected Papers*, vol. 1, ActIran 14 (Leiden, 1977), pp. 355–57.

20. Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," p. 670.

21. Ibid.

22. Taqizadeh offers a corrected reading of the month of Nowrūz of A.H. 282/A.D. 895, see "Various Eras and Calendars in Islam," *BSOAS* 10 ([1939–1942]), p. 131, n. 1.

23. Gignoux, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran," pp. 37–38, esp. p. 44, n. 57.

24. The radiocarbon dates obtained for the MP collection are in the range of A.D. 600–888 (at 95% confidence), see above n. 9.

25. The Berkeley documents consist of two types of texts, represented by letters involving commercial or property transactions, and itemized records and numerical statements and receipts, see P. Gignoux, "Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif du début du septième siècle de notre ère," *CRAI* (Paris, 1991), p. 685.

26. Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," p. 670.

27. Gignoux, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran," pp. 37–38, esp. p. 44, n. 57.

28. Gignoux has noted this puzzling omission in "Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif," pp. 691–95.

29. Thus if the omission of the digit for the century were to have been practiced in early Islamic times it might explain the noted chronological discrepancy, see Taqizadeh, "Various Eras and Calendars in Islam," p. 915. On the earliest evidence for the use of the *kharābī* dates in Islamic times, see Abdolahi, "Calendars II. Islamic Period," p. 670.

30. Gignoux, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran," pp. 37–38. On the presence of Arabic inscriptions on bullae from the Berkeley collection, see idem, "Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif," p. 684.

31. Gignoux, "Une nouvelle collection de documents en pehlevi cursif," p. 690, no. 3.

32. Idem, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran," pp. 37–41.

33. Ibid., pp. 40–41.

34. According to S. Shaked and E. Khurshudjian, quoted by Gignoux, *ibid.*, p. 44.

35. W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," *HdO*, vol. 4, *Iranistik* (Leiden, 1958), p. 49, n. 2, and D. Weber, *Berliner Papyri, Pergamente und Leinenfragmente in mittelpersische Sprache*, *CIIR*, pt. 3, vol. 4, *Ostraca*, vol. 5, *Papyri* (London, 2003), pp. 59–60, no. P. 172, quoted by Gignoux, "Aspects de la vie administrative et sociale en Iran," pp. 45–46.

36. R. N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London, 1975), pp. 63, 69, 87, 105, 107.

37. A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam* (Leiden, 1958), pp. 29, 54.

38. I. M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2002), p. 36.

39. Ibid., p. 63.

40. In contrast to the MP documents in the collection which are all written on traditional writing materials, represented by leather/parchment and linen, see Azarpay and Livshits, "The Middle Persian Archive at Berkeley: A Pre-Islamic Forerunner of 'Sarmakand' Paper?" p. 142.

Guitty Azarpay

Part II: Instrumental Analysis of the Document Fragment

The fragment we examined was irregularly shaped and about 1.5 cm in its longest dimension. Its thickness was initially estimated while viewing the cut edges using light microscopy and a calibrated eyepiece. The thickness varied greatly over the cut edge due to fraying and the range of thicknesses measured was estimated to be about 250 to 310 micrometers. A measurement was also made with a micrometer on the center portion of the fragment. Four measurements indicated a thickness of about $220\ \mu\text{m} \pm 30\ \mu\text{m} + 30\ \mu\text{m}$. The latter measurement is likely to be a more representative estimate of the fragment thickness. Polarized light microscopy (PLM) and infrared spectroscopy were used to determine the nature of the fibers that composed the fragment. Infrared spectroscopy on several fibers indicated that the material was plant-based, rather than silk or animal-based. A typical infrared spectrum of a fiber and a reference spectrum of cellulose are shown in figure 2.

When viewed under a polarized light microscope, most of the fibers were seen to have a shredded appearance and there was a mix of individual fibers (ultimates) and fiber bundles (raw fibers, or technical fibers). The diameters of individual fibers ranged from about 15 to 25 μm ; the fiber lengths ranged from about 1 to 2.5 mm. The ends of the fibers were usually shredded (split); some were tapered. The presence of fiber bundles with ultimates indicates a mixture of processed and raw fibers, and suggests incompletely retted material. The fibers show nodes and cross-hatching and complete to partial extinction under crossed polarizers. Several of the fibers appear to show a Herzog "S"-twist. Photomicrographs of several fibers, under brightfield and partially crossed polarizers, are shown in figures 3–4.

These characteristics are consistent with bast fibers, and are suggestive of linen/flax, although an identification of linen/flax cannot be made conclusively. Generally the term flax refers to the raw technical fibers, or fiber bundles, while individual fibers are called linen. The most

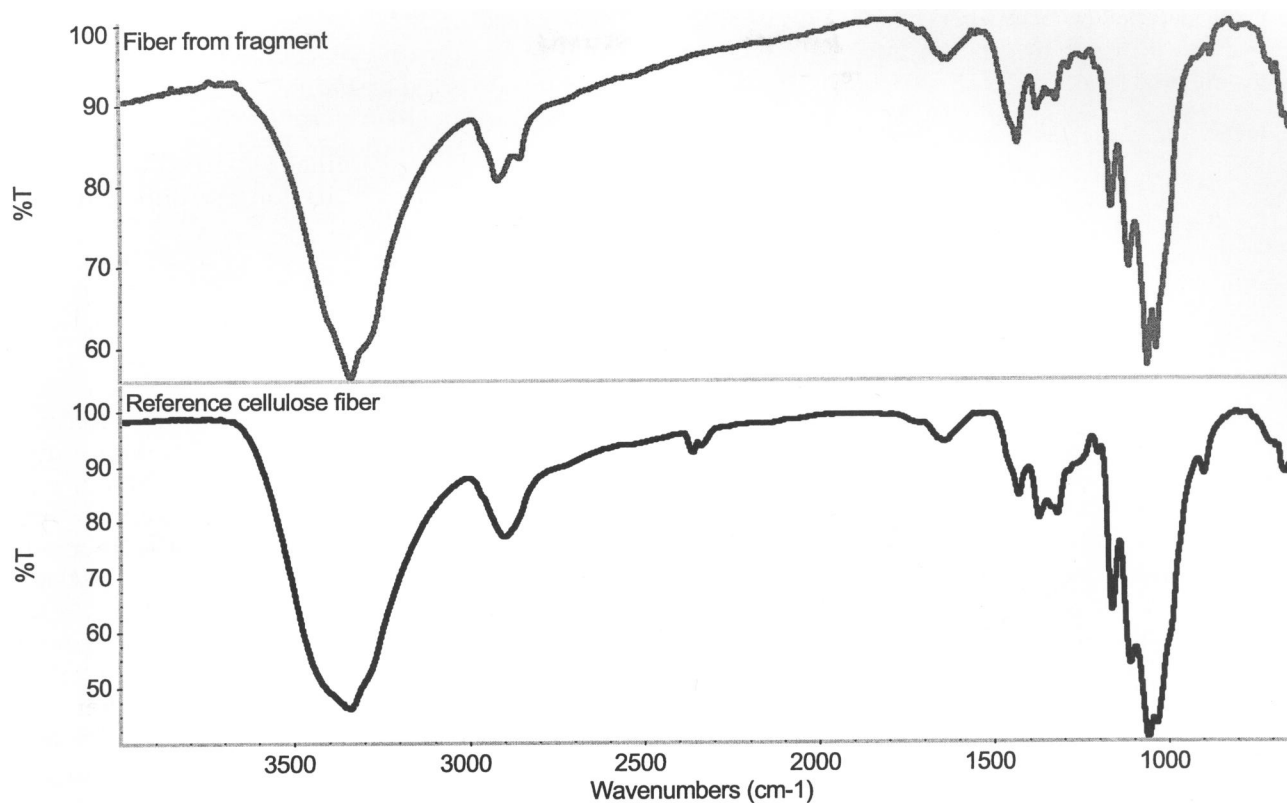


Fig. 2. Top: Fiber from document fragment. Bottom: reference cellulose fiber. Photo: Courtesy Dr. Kathleen Martin.

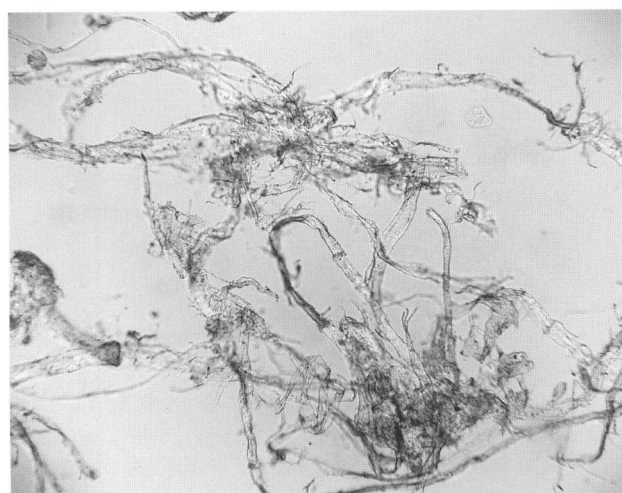


Fig. 3. Photomicrograph of several fibers viewed with transmitted light. Photo: Courtesy Dr. Kathleen Martin.

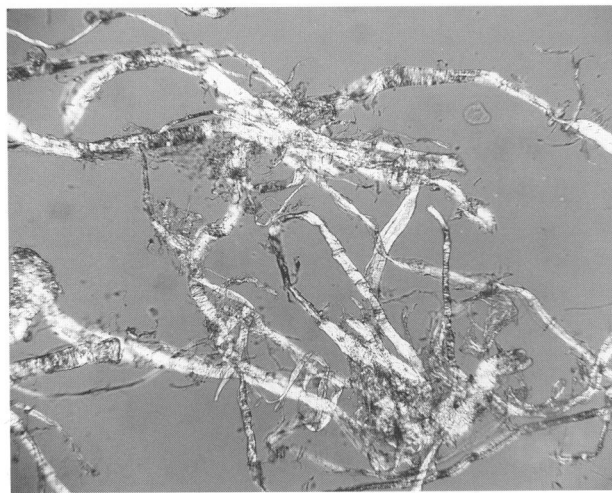


Fig. 4. Photomicrograph of several fibers viewed under partially crossed polarizers and transmitted light. Photo: Courtesy Dr. Kathleen Martin.

common types of bast fibers are flax and hemp; these are difficult to differentiate, especially in very old material.

Kathleen Martin

Part III.1: A Note on the Term *xarāj*

The Etymology of Arabic xarāj, Revisited

An Old Persian term **harka-/harkā*, disseminated throughout the Achaemenid Empire, is reflected by the following forms: Armenian (< early Parthian) *hark* 'a tax like the *jizya*; obligation' (J. R. Russell, orally); Bactrian *varγo* /harg/ 'rent (for land), hire (for a workman)'; Niya Prakrit *harga* 'tax' (the latter two words noted by Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Afghanistan and Its Invaders" [in N. Sims-Williams, ed., *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 225–42], p. 227); Sogdian (in Sogd. script) *rkH* fem. (< **harkā* ?) (in Manichean script and Estrangela) *rq* /ark/ 'work'; Pahlavi *hlg* 'duty, tribute, work, effort' (D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, Oxford, 1971, p. 43); Man. MPers. *hrg* 'tax, duty', *xrg* 'id.' (D. Durkin-Meisterernst, *Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum: Dictionary of Manichaean Texts*, vol. 3, pt. 1, *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*, Turnhout, 2004, p. 364). The latter form attests an early MPers. antecedent **/xarg/*, which accounts for Talmudic Aramaic (Targum) *kr̥g* 'Grundsteuer'.

Now, the plural of Man. MPers. *hrg* is attested as *hrg(n)* (i.e., with two dots over *h*, indicating an abbreviation for ' somewhere in the rest of the word, and partially preserved *n*) = **hrg'n* /hargān/ (Durkin-Meisterernst, op. cit., p. 183, following Werner Sundermann [*Texte kirchengeschichtlichen Inhalts* = Berliner Turfantexte 11, 1981], p. 93; I thank Dr. Christiane Reck for her sending me annotated references to these works). The latter reading refutes the putative series MPers. **/harāj/* < OPers. **harāka-* < Aram. **h^alākā* in effect posited by W. B. Henning ("Arabisch *ḥarāḡ*," *Orientalia* 4, 1935, 291–93) on the basis

of his reading Man. MPers. *hrg* [for *hrg(n)*], the Masoretic pointing of the Aram. (which must now be corrected to **halkā*, cf. Akkad. *ilku*), and the Arabic vocalism *xarāj*.

Since MPers. only had *harg* and *xarg* (and not also **harāj* and **xarāj*), whence Arab. *xarj*, the Arabic vocalism of *xarāj* must be an inner-Arabic development from *xarj*; the fact that *xarj* was associated with the Arabic root *x-r-j* 'to go out' quite probably had some role in the creation of the very viable byform *xarāj* alongside *xarj*.

Addendum

A. Tafazzoli, *BAI* 4 (1990), p. 303, in questioning whether Gr. *arkapatēs*, Inscriptional Parth. *hrkpty* (or *rkpty*) = Inscriptional Pahl. *hlgwpt/hrgwpt*, refers to a (chief) tax-collector, noted that the interpretations supporting this view are "solely based on the assumption [by Henning] that its first element is identifiable with Man. MPers. *harāj*." He further speculated that Skjærvø's noncommittal definition of the inscriptional title as 'Hargbed, an official' was due to dissatisfaction with the earlier etymology. Tafazzoli went on to express preference that the word in question be equated with Arab. *ʾrjbd* = MPers. **/argbed/* 'citadel-commander'.

Since (1) the title in question is fully compatible with the Middle Persian *harg* ~ (*xarg*) and early Parthian *hark* as the term for a tax, as against the once widely accepted MPers. **harāj*, which I hope to have shown is a ghost-word; and since (2) the Inscr. Pahl. title in question is spelled with *h-* as against the ' expected for the (unattested) word for 'citadel-commander', with putative MPers. **arg-* (cf. Arab. *arj*)- < **ark* < Latin *arx*, acc. *arcem*; and since (3) the Inscr. Pahl. spelling *hlg-* (or *hrg-*) in the title corresponds precisely to the Book Pahl. spelling for the tax term, *hlg* (with noteworthy *g*); and since (4) the Inscr. Pahl. spelling *hlgwpt/hrgwpt* likely represents /harguft/ or /xarguft/ (with *-ft* < **-pt*), which again differs from **/argbed/*; and, finally, since (5) in the Greek loan contract of c.e. 121 Phraates, the *arkapatēs*, was in the entourage of Manesos, who was (in addition to loftier positions) a tax-collector, the Greek Inscr. Pahl. and Parthian title at issue gains new, stronger

evidence for its being interpreted as referring to an official connected with taxation. This would accordingly expand our dossier of the tax term itself.

Martin Schwartz

Part III.2: The *xarāj* Taxation and the Pahlavi Document Berk. No. 27¹

As is stated above in the article by Professor Azarpay there seems to be no direct hint of the *xarāj* tax in the Berkeley Middle Persian archive. But as studies on the Pahlavi documents of Berlin and Berkeley (so far published) have revealed new or different readings meanwhile I dare to present

here a fresh interpretation of Pahlavi Document Berk. No. 27 where we do find, very probably, a designation for an official who had to do with the *xarāj* tax. The document was first published (as N° 2) by Prof. Gignoux in the *Festschrift für Helmut Humbach*² and again, with improved readings, in *Studies in Honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski*.³ Whereas the first publication was accompanied by black-and-white illustrations only the second one has very good reproductions in colour that facilitate working on them. We must be very grateful to Professor Gignoux to have given, to the scientific world, these seven examples of the the Berkeley Collection of Pahlavi documents. Here is the new reading of the document (sections are underlined where I differ from Professor Gignoux's reading):

Transliteration:

- 1 ZNH BYRH hwrđt Y
- 2 ŠNT 𐭮𐭮-II W YWM 'twr'
- 3 MKBLWNm plšn-hlglyk
- 4 Y pt' wykst'n
- 5 LWTH plhwł dwstw'l
- 6 pt' l's YBLWN~~ty~~
- 7 l'd MN dyn- . . . -yt'
- 8 'YŠ MN
- 9 MKBLWN~~ty~~ MNW NKSY'
- 10 Y MN wc'lšn' Y k'l
- 11 BYN krt MN dl Y
- 12 dynp..t(?) W pylk'
- 13 S-I W p(?)tgl'b
- 14 plšn-hlglyk pt'
- 15 gw[k]'dy-mwdl'n Y ZK 'dwynt' Y
- 16 HTYMWNt 𐭮𐭮

Translation: This month *Hordād* (3rd month) of the year 42 (A.D. 673/674 or 773/774) and day *Ādur* (9th day) I, the *frašn-hargarīg*, (being) responsible for the woods, receive, (together) with very happy *Dōstwār* for transport on the road from somebody from will receive (that) money which he gains/obtains from the realization/execution of the work, from the house of *Dēnb-d* and *Pīrag*, 1 *Satēr*. And the *frašn-hargarīg* with the witnesses' seals according to that form of sealed the receipt.

Transcription:

- 1 *ēn māh Hordād ī*
- 2 *sāl 42 ud rōz Ādur*
- 3 *padirēm frašn-hargarīg*
- 4 *ī pad wēšagestān*
- 5 *abāg farroxtar Dōstwār*
- 6 *pad rāh burdan*
- 7 *rāy az*
- 8 *kas az*
- 9 *padirēd kē x^wāstag*
- 10 *ī az wizārišn ī kār*
- 11 *andar kard az dar ī*
- 12 *Dēnb-d ud Pīrag*
- 13 *satēr-1 ud pādīrāy*
- 14 *frašn-hargarīg pad*
- 15 *gugāy-muhrān ī ān ēwēnag ī*
- 16 *. āwišt*

Commentary:

Lines 3 and 9: The complement of the heterogram <MKBLWN> cannot be <-ym>. The complement for the 1st person singular is always <-m>, cf., e.g., (Berlin) **Doc. 4**, line 1, and **Doc. 5**, line 1. It is clear that only in line 3 the reading <MKBLWNm> is acceptable in a syntactical surrounding that is equivalent to the other occurrences in the Berlin documents. On the other hand, for line 9, only <MKBLWN~~ty~~> seems

possible as the complement shows a little hook at its rightmost upper beginning and a short horizontal stroke through the whole character; thus it is completely comparable to the occurrence in **Doc. 5**, line 4. These palaeographical considerations coincide with the syntax: for line 3 we have the parallels in the Berlin documents where the leading person of the document is speaking in the first person, and for <MKBLWNty> we have the subject *kas* in line 8.

Lines 3 and 14: *frašn-hargarīg* is a by now unknown title of an official who, in this case, is in charge of the woods. The reading of the first part of this compound was earlier <plhw'> which is impossible because of the clearly written hook between <l> and <w/n> that indicates the reading <š> before final <-n'> as can be shown from the formations in *-išn*, written <-šn'> (with final <-> in almost all cases.⁴

The second part of the compound, viz. *hargarīg*, "n'a guère de sens d'un point de vue étymologique" (Gignoux 2003, 83). The word *hargarīg* is from **harg-gar-īg*, obviously a designation, with the common suffix *-īg* like in *dārīg*,⁵ for a man who has to do with 'duty, tribute; work, effort' (CPD 43), the suffix *-gar* written with <-g-> not with <-k-> due to the final consonant of <hl>. Since MP *harg*, Man. MP *harg* is clearly the fore-runner of NP and Arabic *xarāj* the designation may have been that of a tax collector and the formation with *frašn* as the first element may denote the person who had to make inquiries about what had to be taxed, in our case <Y pt' wykst'n> = *ī pad wēšagestān* 'for the woods'.⁶ In line 4 of the same document, then, no patronymic name like <gwšnp'n> is to be expected.

Line 7: After the prp. *az* we expect, according to parallel formulae,⁷ a personal name that is incomprehensible so far. The name seems to be attested also in a number of documents from the Berlin collection. The initial ligature of the name may be understood as <dyn-> at best but the rest must remain unclear. It is remarkable that the ending obviously varies between <-yt'> (**Doc. 12**, 9; **Doc. 37**, 6; **Teheran B**, 5,⁸ and **Gi 2**, 7) and simple <-t'> (**Doc. 8**, 7; **Doc. 10**, 4 and 5). I suppose even in **Doc. 5**, line 3, the same name but rather negligently written. Because of the fact that the various spellings differ greatly it seems possible that we have, in this word, perhaps no name but a kind of title of an official or a well known designation for a person.

Line 8: The characters after *kas az* are difficult to interpret as there are too many possibilities. Gignoux⁹ is certainly right in assuming a geographical name translating the passage by "quelqu'un (du village de . . . ?)."

Lines 9ff. follow an interesting scheme that is well attested, e.g., in (Berlin) **Doc. 4**: *padīrēm . . . x^wāstag satēr-4 ○ ud pādīrāy . . . āwišt*, or (Berlin) **Doc. 37**: *padīrēm . . . x^wāstag satēr-4 ud pādīrāy . . . āwišt*. If one does in fact accept the reading *x^wāstag* in line 9 we have to assume the mentioning of its height given in Staters. From the examples given above it is obvious that the number can only stand just before the new phrase *ud pādīrāy . . . āwišt* starting in line 13. Thus we have to assume that the very first characters of that line denote the abbreviation for Stater connected with the number '1'. Another consequence of this interpretation is that the phrases between the word *x^wāstag* and the assumed number of Staters (lines 10–12) are attributive qualifications to that word connected by the *Izāfe*.

Line 10: The considerations on the writing of <plšn'> and the formations in <-šn'> lead to the conclusion that, in line 10, the reading of the assumed patronymic name <mnwchl'n'> [G.] cannot be maintained. As we have seen above the hook before the final <-n'> leads to the assumption of the character <-š-> which excludes the name but favours a formation in <-šn'>, viz. <wc'lsn'>. The consequence, of course, must be that the division of the written characters has to be changed including the initial <mn-> of †<mnwchl'n'> becoming now the heterogram <MN> = *az* 'from'. The word *kār* is also attested in the Berlin **Doc. 2**, line 6: *pad kār ī pēš man abāyēd* '(of the men) I need for the coming work(s)'.

Line 11: *andar kard*, cf. NP در کردن *dar kardan* 'to acquire, to win, to gain, to obtain' (Steingass 1963). The meaning of *az dar* could perhaps be specified as 'from the court of . . .' as *dar* itself is regularly used in the phrase *dar handarzbed(ān)* 'conseillers de la Cour' (Gignoux 2004, 45).

Line 12: This line seems to contain two personal names, viz. *Dēnb-d ud Pīrag*, where the first one is not yet quite clear.

Line 13: I now prefer the transliteration <p^l)t^lgl^lb> due to the etymology of the word (which must derive from **pāti-grāba-*);¹⁰ cf. also the name <hwslwb> = *Xusrō*.

Line 15: Usually after the formula *gugāy-muhrān* (or the like) a personal name (or personal names) is (are) requested; cf. (Berlin) **Doc. 13**, lines 9–10: *pad gugāy-muhr ī Māhdād-Weh ī Māhānān*; **Doc. 23**, lines 9–10: *pad gugāy-muhrān ī Māh-Pērōz*; **Doc. 28**, lines 7–8: *pad gugāy-muhrīhā ī Weh- . . .*; **Doc. 37**, 8–11: *pad <gug>āy-muhrīhā <ī> Pērōz-Mihr ī pēšēnīg(?)*. A slightly different formula is shown in **Doc. 38**, lines 16–17: *pad gugāy-muhrān ī juḍ* ‘by different witnesses’ seals’. The construction used here in the Berkeley document again differs as it has the qualification *pad gugāy-muhrān ī ān ēwēnag ī* ‘by witnesses’ seals of that (proper) form of’, cf. *pad ēwēn* ‘properly’ (CPD 31). Unfortunately the beginning of the last line is incomprehensible so that the specification of *ān ēwēnag* must remain unknown.¹¹

Notes

1. The following sigla will be used:
- Doc.** Pahlavi documents. Berlin (see Weber 2007b, forthcoming).
- Gi** Pahlavi documnets, Berkeley, ed. Gignoux 2001.
- P.** Pahlavi papyri and parchments, ed. Weber 1992 (**P. 1–P. 124**), Weber 2003 (**P. 125–P. 343**).
2. Gignoux 2001, 285.
3. Gignoux 2003, 83.
4. See in detail Weber 2007a (forthcoming, Table 2).
5. For the suffix see D. Weber, “Pahlavi Morphology,” in A. S. Kaye, ed., “Morphologies of Asia and Africa” (Winona Lake, Indiana, 2007) (§6.2.2.1.15).
6. The word *wēšag* ‘wood (s)’ is already attested in the Berlin papyrus **P. 137**, line 13.
7. (Berlin) **Doc. 4**, 3; **Doc. 5**, 3.
8. This example shows no final vertical stroke.
9. Gignoux 2003, 83.
10. See Weber 2007b, 18.
11. For the reading of *ēwēnag* cf. the discussion apud Weber 2005, 221f.—A possible guess for the first word in line 16 could be <hm-ʾwcyнкʾ>.

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